









Rev. Father Glover
at Germ -

1864

HINTS, ETC.

LONDON:
RICHARDS, PRINTER, 100, ST. MARTIN'S LANE

HINTS
TOWARDS THE
PACIFICATION OF IRELAND:

ADDRESSED, MORE PARTICULARLY, TO

THE RULING POWERS
OF THE DAY.



BY

JOHN, EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

SECOND EDITION,

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND CONSIDERABLY ENLARGED.

LONDON:
CHARLES DOLMAN, 61, NEW BOND STREET.

1844.

Now that you have come to an issue with Agitation, and have gained a temporary triumph, no matter by what means, it seems not unreasonable to expect that both parties should take advantage of the truce, to ponder well upon their relative position, and see whether it be yet possible to establish an honourable and permanent peace between the belligerents. It would indeed be making a wise use of their breathing time ; for unless some middle course be speedily adopted, such as shall give hope of a *final adjustment* of their respective claims, the rising of to-morrow's sun is not more certain than the renewal of hostilities between the combatants.

It is too well established upon indisputable evidence, that England has ever, since her first occupation of Ireland, placed herself in an antagonist position towards that country ; her domination, alas ! is to be traced in one continued course of blood, spoliation, perfidy, and injustice. The most minute research can discover no lucid intervals of a better feeling—the whole track is dark and gloomy, without one ray of light to cheer it—not one act of grace is upon record. That position she still occupies ; and, in spite of the progress of civilization around us, there is still a faction to be found, holding a conspicuous place in both countries, too

faithfully representing the spirit of their progenitors, and only restrained from the like atrocities by the want of power to perpetrate them. To cite the proofs, would only be wading through too revolting a mass of evidence;—the fact must already be too familiar to the minds of all who have not been completely blinded to what was passing before them. In 1825 this faction—for it would dishonour any other name—was thus described by the celebrated and patriotic Dr. Doyle, and than whom no man knew it better—"This party," says he, "would be even stronger than it is . . . if it were not overbearing, haughty, insolent, and cruel. Monopoly and injustice are written on its standards; oppression is its watchword; falsehood and slander are its heralds; it has no reason or justice with it, but it is so clamorous, and so menacing, and so unblushing, as to overwhelm or confound whomsoever would approach it with argument, or seek to treat with it on a basis, just, useful, or honourable."*

I know there are great and honourable exceptions to be made in favour of some, presumed to be connected with this party, and to whom this description by no means applies: but we should be belieing history, and the evidence of our senses did we believe it to be otherwise than a faithful portraiture of the great majority; and while I am confident that they who now govern the destinies

* Letters on the state of Ireland by J. K. L.

of these kingdoms have no fellow-feeling with this faction, but, on the contrary, hate and despise it as a moral and political evil, yet I am equally certain, that their policy towards Ireland is strongly tinctured, if not altogether imbued, with its baneful influence. Were they to present a bold front to this faction, and carry out their own feelings and professions to their legitimate ends,—the pacification of Ireland,—this faction might turn upon them, and drive them from the helm to which it has appointed them. It was by means of that faction and its abettors that they acquired power, and therefore is it the more difficult for them to throw it off. They wrecked the landed proprietors without fear as without remorse, having entrapped them between Scylla and Charybdis: if these did not find the new arrangement of the sliding-scale to their taste, they had no alternative but to fall back upon Lord John Russell's low fixed duty; danger beset them whichever way they turned, and there was no escape; but to alienate the ultra-religious party too, might be hazarding too powerful an excitement, and bringing the whole round of their political tergiversation and treachery into view at once. Had they passed them by upon the first flush of triumph, as unworthy of attention—as they would fain have had us believe they were doing—and dealt out justice, or remedial, or palliative measures to Ireland with a generous hand, the strength they had gained in other quar-

ters, had more than compensated for the angry clamour and disappointment of the faction.

Nor would it have been any great novelty among the many political dramas which have been played off before us, to find the actors changing parts and assuming the characters best suited to their own altered views, or to the prevailing taste and circumstance of the times ; and thus carrying out the very measures they had been opposing under other influences. They might, even with great consistency, have stood upon the agricultural-protection system, have secured their friends there, and defied the enmity of the rest. They might have argued that the great evil of Ireland was the insufficiency of skill and capital employed in agriculture, and the wretched condition of her agricultural population : the main remedy proposed might have been this very protective system, which, coupled with the draining off the surplus population to the uncultivated districts, and thereby putting an end to the baneful effects of excessive competition, and converting mischievous idleness into productive labour, might have changed the whole aspect of affairs. Taking up this principle with a humane and benevolent spirit, pursuing it with energy, and proving to the people that, at least, they were alive to their social and physical suffering, if they little regarded their political and religious grievances in the first instance—though they could not have altogether overlooked them, but professing to take

them more gradually, by a bit and bit reform, as circumstances favoured—they might have produced an immense diversion from Repeal agitation, which then had probably subsided for want of means to inspire it. This, too, would have saved them from the reproach of that do-nothing system which they adopted, and with which they have till now proceeded, with as cool an indifference to the ills of Ireland, as if those ills had never been heard of, or as if Ireland formed no part of the Empire entrusted to their care. This alone was a sufficient provocation to increased excitement and agitation, and when, in consequence, she put herself into an attitude of defiance, and uttered loud complaints, the only method they could devise of reducing her to silence and tranquillity, was to place the manacle upon her hands and the gag upon her mouth. And this is the position in which we find her at this moment; submissive to the rude treatment she has received, no longer allowed to ask, but yet compelled to wait, for justice.

That it is now too late for the Government to play this game,—which, in the first instance, we think they might, if not with credit, at least with a show of consistency,—is self-evident: they have very much alienated, or, at the best, rendered the landed interest indifferent to them; for the new Corn Bill, instead of proving what Sir Robert Peel promised,—a means of keeping the range of prices between 56 and 60, has lowered them to between

43 and 54, and has been, in fact, the very thing they feared,—an eight shilling duty. They cannot, therefore, *now* so well afford to alienate the ultra anti-Catholic party likewise. Besides which, at this time of day, having already broken faith with the landed proprietors, a kind and generous treatment to Ireland would be too glaring a political apostacy, even for the men who carried Emancipation in face of the pledges and principles of their whole political career. The present Government then are not destined to be the willing pacificators of Ireland. Ever since they yielded to the power which forced the penal code out of their grasp, they have striven to re-enact it in spirit: policy perhaps, as much as inclination, drove them into that course. The very struggles of the Catholics for each fresh instalment of justice, served to guide them to their points of attack upon their political opponents; their war-cry was O'Connell and his tail; every measure of reform was opposed, because calculated to increase the influence of the Catholic body, and with it the Whig ascendancy, till at length the very name of Catholic became grating to their ears, and they had the boldness to avow that no further concessions were to be made to men who were *aliens in religion* to the government and the people of England. From that moment their alliance with the ultra party was complete; the press which supported them spat forth calumny and vituperation against Catholics and their religion, in a manner.

worthy of the most rampant days of fanaticism; and though at the moment of their return to power this storm of words was for the instant allayed as if they hesitated what course to pursue (and so as to deceive many), yet it immediately recommenced upon the first provocation, when their part was finally chosen, and they judged their strength to be completed for all ulterior views. What hope have we then, that the pacification of Ireland is to be the work of the present government? I confess that I see none, unless, after biding her time, "Ireland's opportunity" shall arrive, and *she again* FORCES *them to compliance*. This, indeed, has been the object and excuse for agitation during the last three years.

There is still, however, a more modified middle course which the government *may* pursue in respect to Ireland,—to apply themselves only to the social, leaving the political and religious grievances to the chapter of accidents. And though it can neither come with the same grace, nor with the same effect now, as if they had adopted it at first, still it would be a relief well worth the having as a great and speedy alleviation to that intensity and extent of human misery with which that unfortunate land has been so long suffered to be afflicted.

Besides the benefit to the common interests of humanity, over which it is the first duty of every Government to watch with a paternal tenderness, the indirect effect upon the question of Repeal

would even then, I conceive, be by no means inconsiderable : while the popular voice, now so strongly expressed, united with the persevering efforts of an Opposition which is gaining on them, might drive them into smaller concessions upon other points :— and if Ireland could at once obtain some decided advancement in the physical condition of her people, with smaller ameliorations in her political and religious, but with the hope of more, I trust that even Mr. O'Connell would be content to agitate for that *more*, rather than for Repeal. It would, I think, bring a greater power to bear upon the question, by uniting greater numbers and greater influence in the effort, and satisfy Mr. O'Connell that justice *might* be had without Repeal, which, as formerly, he might still keep in view as a *dernier resort*, in case of failure within a given time.

The great mass of the population of Ireland, that at least on which the hand of distress lays the heaviest, may be divided into two classes—they who are in actual possession of a plot of potatoe ground, and they who are only aspiring to it. The former pay with difficulty the excessive rent by which they are oppressed, and eke out a miserable existence with the remaining produce. To these the Repealer says, “Come to me and obtain repeal, and you shall have your potatoe ground at what you and your neighbours consider a fair rent, and no man shall be able to dispossess you of it.” This at once identifies every holder of potatoe land at a high rent

with repeal, and comprehends within its range a body of some two millions and a half of distressed and discontented beings.* The second class are in a state of total destitution for thirty weeks in the year, during which they are of necessity, vagabonds and mendicants—driven to itinerant mendicancy as a profession. This was the class con-

* These, assuredly, must be a very numerous class; for out of the 585,000 heads of families in a state of destitution, 507,441 were returned as occupying no land whatever; and yet at that period (1834) there were no less than 1,131,715 agricultural labourers employed in creating agricultural produce to the estimated value of £36,000,000 per annum, whilst in England (singular to say) 1,055,982 labourers are supposed to raise to the value of 150,000,000! Calculating, then, that only half of these Irish labourers are holders of land at an exorbitant rent, and belong to that class, which—unlike the agricultural labourers of England—is periodically thrown out of work during a considerable portion of the year, the result—with those dependent on them—will just double the estimate of two millions and a half of destitute individuals, (alas! it is by the million that distress is to be calculated in Ireland) thus fully making up the standard of 70 per cent of distressed objects out of the whole population! But the evidence upon the poverty and destitution of Ireland is so full and so decided, both in the Parliamentary reports and in the publications of individual writers, such as Inglis, Binns, the Halls, Kohl, Wiggins, Montgomery Martin, &c., that the sad condition of the Peasantry of that country is become familiar to all, and is now conventionally admitted without further proof in the details.

templated by the poor-law; but the wild liberty of a vagrant mendicancy, trusting to casual and precarious charity, has far greater charms for them than the tranquil luxuries of a poor-house; and the best intentions of the legislature,—as was but too truly foretold,—have proved futile in their regard. To these, likewise, does the Repealer address himself: “Join with me,” says he, “and procure Repeal, and instead of the hateful, degrading, unnatural and ill-fated benevolence of the legislature, you shall have each of you a good acre of church land, or a comfortable allowance from the same source: we will thus convert the great cause of your oppression into a boon and a blessing.” Thus persuaded, we have another gathering of two millions and a half of clamorous individuals to the cause of Repeal. As we ascend in the scale to the proprietor of the soil himself, even *he* is tempted by the bait which is held out to him: “Unite with me,” says the Repealer, “and there shall be no more charges upon you for building empty work-houses, and for keeping up an expensive machinery, which remains idle for want of materials on which to be employed. Join with me, and you shall have another good per centage struck off from your tithe composition.”* The depressed state of

* I do not mean to assert that such things are actually said, nor perhaps are they altogether contemplated, by the leaders of the Irish people; but such, I am confident, are the impressions made upon them by what has been said;—in the

agriculture, making the heavy encumbrances on Irish estates heavier still, gives additional weight to this argument, and has also enlisted many a proprietor in the ranks of Repeal. Yet this class, too, being benefited by the proposed amelioration in the physical condition of the poor, might also be bought off from Repeal,—if that be your main object—and another exciting cause of agitation extinguished. In proportion, too, as you can improve the interest of the landholder, so will you diminish the frightful clearance system, so prolific of crime and misery. The peasant will cease to be a burden when the landlord enjoys the means of usefully employing him. Thus are you bound by every tie to rescue the forlorn and destitute population of Ireland from that wretchedness and degradation to which your apathy and your impolicy has condemned it; the voice of humanity, the cause of order, peace, and virtue, and the general interests of the state, all conspire to demand it of you. You are still bound by another obligation towards the Irish peasant: when he was a forty shilling freeholder, he was worth caring for; he was property and influence to his landlord. *You* it was that degraded him from that estate, and threw him as a worse than useless lumber upon the soil: no wonder that his master disowned him, and

same manner as they have imagined that the Landlord and Tenant commission is to reinstate all the ejected occupiers in their former holdings.'

banished him from his domains. Of the three different qualities of Irish grievances,—social, political, and religious,—the first are incomparably the heaviest and the most urgent. The remedying of the other two is only to be considered as the crowning of the whole scheme, which every wise and efficient Government ought to have in view,—“the greater happiness of the greater number.” Though, indisputably, both justice and sound policy demand that all three should advance together in their progress towards reform, yet it does not necessarily follow, that because all that we can desire should not yet be accomplished, we are to take upon ourselves to intercept the greater, or indeed any portion of the benefits, which, in the name of humanity, we demand for a suffering people. And if it should appear that those to whom the administration of the commonwealth is entrusted, are more likely to be brought to unite in an object in which neither prejudice nor party can be supposed to enter, than for one on which there are a thousand motives for disunion, are we not bound, as a matter of duty, to accept the alternative, and allow the more difficult and debatable portions to rest in abeyance for a more fitting opportunity?

It is not necessary that we should here enter into details as to *how* so desirable an object, and one so calculated for the pacification of Ireland, should be effected. Suffice it to say, that where there is a will there is a way; and that we cannot surely be

less sensitive to the miseries of the white slave of Ireland than we were to the black slave of America, or less willing to make some sacrifice for his advantage. The first outlay, however, would at length be repaid: set the Irish pauper to raise corn in Ireland, and he will exchange it for the manufactures of England, and even "the League" may be satisfied with the result, for it would serve them as well as driving a new trade with the Baltic.* There are

* The Report of 1830 says: "There are about 3,000,000 Irish, or 5,000,000 English acres of waste lands, which are considered to be almost reclaimable. Experiments which have been tried seem to confirm the reasoning and anticipations with respect to the great profit and practicability of these drainages. It is in evidence, that by an expense of somewhat about £7 per acre, land in the county of Sligo has been reclaimed and rendered worth a rent of 30s.; or if preserved in the hands of the proprietor, that it is made capable of repaying all expenses by three years' produce, leaving all subsequent returns clear gain." Other and greater advantages the committee think will arise from the reclamation of these lands. In another paragraph, the report remarks, "If this work can be accomplished, not only would it afford a transitory but a permanent demand for productive labour, accompanied by a corresponding rise of wages, and an improvement in the condition of the poor. Opportunities would also be afforded for the settlement of the peasantry, now superabundant in particular districts, on waste lands, which at present scarcely produce the means of sustenance, or suited for human habitations. This change would be alike advantageous to the lands from whence the settlers are taken, and to those on which they

still four or five millions of acres of uncultivated land in Ireland. The monks of Melleray—men who have honoured agriculture by devoting it to religion—can show you what can be made even of the worst of them; while the fifteen millions already in cultivation return not half what they ought to yield under a better system. To leave all this to time, and to the ordinary course of things, is to condemn one generation after another (for, Heaven only knows, how long) to penury, disease, and death. If it be permitted to the Government to look on without pity, as without remorse, at the

may hereafter be fixed. The severe pressure of the system of clearing farms and ejecting sub-tenants may thus be mitigated, and the general estate of the peasantry improved."

The report terminates thus: "Your committee cannot better conclude this report than by extracting from the evidence the following answer, given by James Weale, Esq. in which they most entirely concur: 'I can hardly conceive a limit to the new market for British manufacture, and for native labour, by an improved system of management and cultivation of landed property in Ireland. There is such an immense mass of people in Ireland, who are unclothed, unfed, and unhoused, that I doubt whether even the new markets we have sought for in South America can be considered half as valuable as that which lies at our door; and it is from improvements in that market alone that I look for any material alleviation in the pressure of the heavy taxation which the sister kingdom must in the meanwhile necessarily sustain.'"

evils they are appointed to cure—and many of them even the work of their own hands—and to depute all to the chances of a do-nothing system, the sooner it is eased of that office the better; for if the people have “their duties as well as their rights,” so have the Government.—No one, I think, can read Mr. Wiggins’s interesting work on “the monster misery of Ireland,” as he so justly terms it, without feeling that he has apportioned the Irish landlords a task which many will be unwilling, and more are unable, to perform: and yet, if this task be not accomplished, what does he tell us is the result?—“the doom of Ireland is sealed for centuries, as a poor, discontented, retrograding country.” And so it is. But whose fault will it be? That of the landlords, who have neither the physical means, nor the moral virtue perhaps, to master the miseries by which they are surrounded? or the fault of the Government, which can command both if it would? Is it just that you will neither do it yourselves, nor allow others to undertake it?—for no domestic parliament in Ireland could now resist the crying necessities of a starving, much injured, and discontented people, to whatever shifts it might be driven to provide a subsistence for them. Draw off the redundant population to drain the bogs, to cultivate the waste, to construct roads, to colonize a new district, and you will gain a people to civilization, and a desert to productive industry. Then, indeed, you may expect to remedy the condition of those

who remain, and which your Landlord and Tenant Commission ought to do, if it do any thing: but how this Lordlord and Tenant Commission is to better the fate of those who have neither landlord nor tenancy—who are altogether beyond the fold, only looking wistfully over the fence in the hope of being allowed to enter—I know not. And yet this is the monster evil which we must first oppose, if we would check the current of desolation which has set in upon the country, and prepare it for any real and permanent improvement. “We cannot estimate,” say your own commissioners, “the number of persons [able bodied men, of course] out of work and in distress during thirty weeks of the year, at less than 585,000, nor the number of persons dependent upon them at less than 1,800,000, making in the whole 2,385,000. . . . We see that the labouring class are eager for work, that work there is none for them, and that they are therefore, and not from any fault of their own, in permanent want.” That was the state of things in 1835. Has it diminished since? Has it not fearfully increased under the clearance system, and the low standard of agricultural produce? The report from which the extract is taken concludes thus:

“What ought to be done we trust will be done. The improvement of Ireland is of the deepest importance to every part of the United Kingdom; at present [1836], with a population nearly equal to half that of Great Britain, she yields only about a twelfth of the revenue to the

state that Great Britain does; nor can she yield more, until more she has to yield. Increased means must precede increased contributions; and to supply Ireland with these is the great object of our recommendations. We anxiously hope that they may conduce to it, and that Ireland may at length become what Sir William Temple so long ago stated that under a good government she might be made, 'one of the richest countries in Europe,' and a mighty increase both of strength and revenue to the Crown of England.' "

And yet in the year 1844, what ought to have been done in '36—aye, in 1736*—still remains undone; and Ireland, instead of being one of the richest, is yet the poorest country in Europe. However, if ever the time arrive in which "good government" rules in Ireland, and what ought to be done is done, it must be done at the public charge and at the public risk. "Those who are uncivilized," says the same report, "cannot civilize themselves; it requires *external* aid to enable them to improve." It requires much more for the purpose than facilities afforded by legislative enactments to the Irish proprietors themselves. "By an Act

* We must recollect that Poyning's act was then in force, so that the English Parliament *could* have done it just as well as they could pass laws which proclaimed the exportation of black cattle and sheep from Ireland as "a common nuisance," and prohibited it for ever, and which discouraged her woollen manufacture because it was inconsistent with the trade of England.

passed in 1831," says this same report, "entitled 'an act to empower landed proprietors in Ireland to sink, embank, and remove obstructions in rivers,' and which is commonly called Mr. More O'Ferrall's act, companies of undertakers may be formed, under certain regulations, for the purpose of carrying on drainage in any part of Ireland; *but no companies have been formed*, and although the act, if carried into general effect, would have proved of infinite value, it has unfortunately remained a *dead letter*."*

* "The Irish bogs," says Kohl, in 1843, "are at once a source of wealth, and a cause of poverty. They yield fuel to the people, but at the same time cover much fertile land, which they withhold from cultivation; and they spoil the water of the rivers, fill the atmosphere everywhere with a turfy smell, and infect the air with unwholesome exhalations; they are often a great hinderance to internal communication, and have long served as places of refuge to the thieves and outlaws of Ireland, who, according to Boate, could not exist without the bogs. The object of the Irish ought to be to subject to a wise system of economy those bogs that yield good fuel, and to have all the others drained and brought under cultivation. Hitherto the Irish have done neither of these two things; they have not economized their turf, and they have not drained the unproductive bogs, because these were for a long time looked upon as the most effectual natural protection against the English. The English, indeed, 'the introducers of all that is good into Ireland,' as Boate calls them, (he might with equal justice have called them the authors of much evil there), have for centuries laboured at the draining of these bogs, and lately again a company has been formed

And how can we be surprised at this, when Mr. Montgomery Martin tells us that "*one county* in England (Lancashire or Yorkshire) has a greater amount of metallic and paper circulation than all Ireland and its eight millions of inhabitants!"

It is not *her* fault, however, that she is poor; it is *your* injustice that has doomed her to poverty, and therefore are you bound to rescue her from it. Let it not be said, "this and that undertaking cannot be recommended to parliament, because it will not pay." Did we argue so when we paid twenty millions to pervert the black population of our colonies into an idle and dissolute class, and ruin our West India commerce and proprietors into the bargain? Still it was a magnanimous act of charity on the part of the country, because intended to produce very different results, and because no one turned

for the reclaiming of Irish bogs, but compared to the quantity of bogs that exist, little or nothing has hitherto been done, and even at the present day the traveller in Ireland seldom finds himself on any point whence he may not see bog within his horizon.

"It would seem that there was a time when, if not the entire island, at least portions of it, must have been better cultivated, and less covered with morasses than at present, for there are large tracts of bog, under which the soil shows the most distinct traces of former cultivation by the plough. Nay, some Irish historians point to certain districts, which, after having been laid waste by this or that English general or chief, rapidly became converted into a morass."

back from his purpose to inquire into the cost. But when it concerns the Irish Catholic instead of the black sectarian, all our philanthropy is put to flight by the very first question, "Will it pay? will it return an *interest* upon the capital expended?"*

* "What, then," says Mr. Wiggins, "will not Government do for the reduction of slavery in Ireland; for surely the fact only of the occupying tenants in Ireland not happening to be *called* slaves in common parlance, will not disprove the *fact* of their being substantially in a state of slavery, just as much as the blacks of the West Indies, though in a different, and, to my mind, a less advantageous *mode*. Both are doomed to labour for a master far more than for themselves. The difference is, that whilst the black slave was cared for, and his minutest wants supplied, the white slave is only visited when the sweat of his brow becomes tangible in rent. The black was urged to labour by the whip, but the white slave is whipped to far greater exertions by the rent. Few cares clouded the black's brow, since if times or seasons failed, it was his master's loss; but the white slave to rent is subject to every loss, although he toils and cares unceasingly. The black had time allowed to labour for his freedom, the white can never hope for freedom; for if he succeeds in farming, his rent is raised, and, like the eup of Tantalus, the cup of competency ever eludes his lips. What a contrast does the state of the English tenant present! He is a freeman, in every sense of the word, so long as he pays his rent with punctuality. What has constituted this vast difference between the freeman and the rent-slave? The moderate rents, together with the co-operation of the landlord, in the one case; and the excessive rents, together

And this comes in a great measure from the want of a better system heretofore: for large sums of money have been often employed, and not unfrequently lavished, on public works in Ireland, without any equivalent advantage. They have figured away upon paper, in proof of the considerate liberality of government, while they have, in fact, done little more than divert attention from their still higher duty of applying themselves in good earnest to the general agricultural improvement of the country.

We have still another and a more recent report, of '38 and '39, giving us the same lamentable details of the physical condition of the population of Ireland.

with total absence of assistance, in the other; and this state of things having continued for centuries, has accumulated *good* in the one case, and heaped *bad on bad* in the other. But let us not be unjust; let it be recollected that this comparison only holds in cases of too high, that is, oppressive rents, and in such cases, disguise it as we may, the rent-producing slave is still worse off than the sugar-producing slave.

"Twenty millions of money were paid, with the effect of converting the comfortable slaves of the sugar islands into miserable squatters on abandoned estates. Where *now* shall we find a Wilberforce, with human eloquence fervid enough to plead the cause of the miserable squatters of that terra incognita, called Ireland? The poor African is befriended and bought off. The much more wretched Irishman is abandoned to a much worse fate. Well may we exclaim: 'With how little wisdom is the world governed!'"



“The population differs in social condition, in habits, character, and even in personal appearance, more than the narrow limits of their location would lead us to expect. The northern portion are better lodged, clothed, and fed than the others ; the wages of labour are higher, being on an average about one shilling per day ; and their food consists chiefly of meal, potatoes, and milk. They are a frugal, industrious, and intelligent race, inhabiting a district, for the most part, inferior in natural fertility to the southern portion of Ireland, but cultivating it better, and paying higher rents in proportion to the quality of the land, notwithstanding the higher rate of wages.

“In the southern districts we find a population whose condition is, in every respect, inferior to that of the northern ; their habitations are worse, their food inferior, consisting at best of potatoes and milk, without meal ; the wages of labour are found reduced from one shilling to eightpence per day ; yet the peasantry are a robust, active, and athletic race, capable of great exertion ; often exposed to great privations ; ignorant but eager for instruction ; and readily trained, under judicious management, to habits of order and steady industry.

“The population of the midland districts does not differ materially in condition from those of the south ; but the inhabitants of the western district are decidedly inferior to both, in condition and appearance ; their food consists of the potatoe alone,

without meal, and in most cases without milk ; their cabins are wretched hovels ; their beds straw ; the wages of labour are reduced to the lowest point, upon an average not more than sixpence per day. Poverty and misery have deprived them of all energy, labour brings no adequate remuneration, and every motive to exertion is destroyed. Agriculture is in the rudest and lowest state. The substantial farmer employing labourers, and cultivating his land according to the improved modes of modern husbandry, is rarely to be found amongst them. The country is covered with small occupants, and swarms with an indigent and wretched population. It is true that some landed proprietors have made great exertions to introduce a better system of agriculture, and to improve the condition of their immediate tenants, and a few of the lesser proprietors have made humble attempts to imitate them ; but the great mass of the population exhibits a state of poverty bordering on destitution.

“The distinctions we have drawn as to the usual diet of agricultural labourers in the different parts of Ireland, are strictly applicable to those only who have regular employment. When they are out of work, which is the case in many places during three or four months of the year, the line is not so easily perceived. Then a reduction in the quantity as well as in the quality of their food takes place ; but still, though on a diminished scale, their relative local degrees of comfort or of penury are main-

tained nearly according to the above classification. In no extremity of privation or distress have the peasantry of the Northern Counties approached to a level with those of the West, whilst Leinster and the greater part of the South, though sometimes reduced to the lowest condition, retain generally, even in the most calamitous periods, a shade of superiority.”*

Nor have we any reason to suppose that this is not quite as favourable a statement as could with truth be given of the actual condition of the Irish peasant.

On the other hand we have evidence, and I have already quoted it below, that such undertakings *would* pay; yet, in spite of those assurances, such is the fatality of our policy towards Ireland, that whenever the proposition is made it is met *in limine* with that objection, and rejected upon that ground.†

* Second Report of the Railway Commissioners, Ireland, 1843, p. 6.

† “I have frequently,”—said Mr. S. O’Brien, on the 2nd of June 1840, in his able and interesting speech on the subject of Emigration—“solicited the Government to give every encouragement within the scope of legislation to the reclamation of our waste lands, and even to undertake their cultivation, to a certain extent, by way of experiment and example. If earnest entreaties could have induced Parliament to establish a general system of railways, and to promote other useful works in Ireland, they would now be in progress.”

Such being the case, can any one maintain that the

The present inpolicy pursued towards Ireland is also a heavy financial injustice upon England, for independently of the actual expense of governing by an armed intervention, as we do now, were Ireland secured in her just rights, tranquillity and prosperity would ensue, and she would become as available to taxation as ourselves. She now pays the subsidy of an impoverished vassal, instead of the proportion commensurate with those vast natural resources which we have so insanely condemned to inactivity. Mr. Wiggins states, and I dare say states correctly, that the expense of maintaining your present army in Ireland would set some 150,000 individuals to work, and to work which in a few years *would* return an *interest* for the money, while it added immensely to the physical resources of the empire, and still more to the moral and social well-being of the whole population. But this is neither the object nor the policy of the faction which governs the government in England. Yes ! when whole generations shall have been carried to their graves, like their fathers before them, in poverty, suffering, and oppression ; when the spirit which now thrills the soul with the thought of Ireland's wrongs and Ireland's misery, shall, like so

interests of Ireland are properly represented? Had the Reform Bill taken fifty members from England and given them to Ireland, she might now have been in a very different condition.

many other humane and patriotic desires, have vanished as smoke before the whirlwind of passion and prejudice which assails it ; and when the accumulated grievances of a people shall have driven them to desperation, and desperation shall have produced outbreak, war, and carnage, then will you start up in horror and amazement at the wages of your own earning, and your eyes be opened to the folly and blindness of your hearts :—for to believe that there is no innate sympathy, no remains of early and cherished prejudices, in the reigning party, which draw them naturally to fraternize with these ultra bigots, almost unconscious of the yoke they bear, would be to fix upon them a still greater degree of obstinacy in error and perversity in will, than we are ready to believe belongs to them.

Let us cast a glance at a picture of Irish misery, drawn by the hand of one who had neither prejudices to flatter, nor party to mislead him :—

“To see poor Paddy,” says Kohl, “with a rueful countenance, is the more moving, as it seldom happens to him to carry a look of care about with him; but this year, gloom was fixed on almost every face that returned from England. Some even complained that of the little they had earned, they had been robbed by the rioters in the English manufacturing districts. The poor fellows thought of their families at home, who were counting on the harvest penny that was to pay the rent, and supply a few pressing wants. Fortunately the potatoe harvest was a productive one, but how they were to fight it out during the winter with the landlord and the driver, Heaven only knew. I

have seen migrations of harvesters somewhat similar, in many parts of Europe, but nowhere did they produce so melancholy an impression upon me as in Ireland; neither the North-Germans, wandering away to the rich marshes of Holland; nor the poor Croats, Bohemians, and mountaineers, from Hungary, Bohemia, and Styria, on their way to the fertile lowlands of the Danube; nor the Swiss, descending from their Alps into the teeming plains of Lombardy; nor the mowers that swarm yearly from the central part of Russia into the thinly-peopled steppes of the southern provinces.

“ Along my road I passed through no town in which I did not behold houses of very recent construction falling into ruins. In some places I even saw ten or twelve such houses standing side by side. With the ruins of old castles and churches, some sad poetical tradition of war and violence is usually associated; these more modern ruins are connected with the yet sadder story of injustice committed in the time of peace. The cruel expulsion of a tenant by his landlord, or the emigration of the poor occupiers, or the want of means to effect the necessary repairs, these are generally the causes assigned. Generally, indeed, the people are not very communicative when you inquire into the matter. ‘ Ah, sir, it’s a sad story, and we’d better say nothing about it,’ is often the only answer you can get. There is something quite peculiar in Irish rags. So thoroughly worn away, so completely reduced to dust upon a human body, no rags are elsewhere to be seen. At the elbows and at all the other corners of the body, the clothes hang like the drooping petals of a faded rose; the edges of the coat are formed into a sort of fringe, and often it is quite impossible to distinguish the inside from the outside of a coat, or the sleeves from the body.

"I was grieved, as I passed on the Sunday through several towns, to see so many poor fellows loitering about, and on the look out for work. They were most of them in their Sunday attire, but with their spades in their hands, and stood grouped about the churches and market-places, waiting to be hired to dig potatoes. I was shocked at the sight of such sad and serious multitudes, and all unemployed.

"A French author, Beaumont, who had seen the Irish peasant in his cabin and the North American Indian in his wigwam, has assured us that the savage is better provided for than the poor man in Ireland. Indeed the question may be raised, whether in the whole world a nation is to be found that is subjected to such physical privations as the peasantry in some parts of Ireland. This fact cannot be placed in too strong a light, for if it can once be shown that the wretchedness of the Irish population is without a parallel example on the globe, surely every friend of humanity will feel himself called on to reflect whether means may not be found for remedying an evil of so astounding a magnitude!

"A Russian peasant, no doubt, is the slave of a harder master, but still he is fed and housed to his content, and no trace of mendicancy is to be seen in him. The Hungarians are certainly not among the best used people in the world; still, what fine wheaten bread, and what wine, has even the humblest among them for his daily fare! The Hungarian would scarcely believe it, if he were told there was a country in which the inhabitants must content themselves with potatoes every alternate day in the year.

"Servia and Bosnia are reckoned among the most wretched countries of Europe, and certainly the appearance of one of their villages has little that is attractive about it; but at least the people, if badly housed, are well clad. We

look not for much luxury or comfort among the Tartars of the Crimea; we call them poor and barbarous, but, good Heavens! they look at least like human creatures. They have a national costume, their houses are habitable, their orchards are carefully tended, and the gaily harnessed ponies are mostly in good condition. An Irishman has nothing national about him but his rags; his habitation is without a plan, his domestic economy without rule or law. We have beggars and paupers among us, but they form at least an exception; whereas in Ireland, beggary or abject poverty is the prevailing rule. The nation is one of beggars, and they who are above beggary seem to form the exception.

“The African negroes go naked, but then they have a tropical sun to warm them. The Irish are little removed from a state of nakedness, and their climate, though not cold, is cool and extremely humid.

“The Indians in America live wretchedly enough at times, but they have no knowledge of a better condition, and as they are hunters, they have every now and then a productive chase, and are able to make a number of feast days in the year. Many Irishmen have but one day on which they eat flesh, namely, on Christmas-day. Every other day they feed on potatoes, and nothing but potatoes. Now this is inhuman; for the appetite and stomach of man claim variety in food, and nowhere else do we find human beings gnawing, from year's end to year's end, at the same root, berry, or weed. There are animals who do so, but human beings nowhere except in Ireland.

“There are nations of slaves, but they have by long custom been made unconscious of the yoke of slavery. This is not the case with the Irish, who have a strong feeling of liberty within them, and are fully sensible of the weight of the yoke they have to bear. They are intel-

ligent enough to know the injustice done them by the distorted laws of their country; and while they are themselves enduring the extreme of poverty, they have frequently before them, in the manner of life of their English landlords, a spectacle of the most refined luxury that human ingenuity ever invented.

“What awakens the most painful feelings in travelling through one of these rocky, boggy districts, rich in nothing but ruins, is this; whether you look back into the past, or forward to the future, no prospect more cheering presents itself. There is not the least trace left to show that the country has ever been better cultivated, or that a happier race ever dwelt in it. It seems as if wretchedness had prevailed there from time immemorial; as if rags had succeeded rags, bog had formed over bog, ruins had given birth to ruins, and beggars had begotten beggars, for a long series of centuries. Nor does the future present a more cheering view. Even for the poor Greeks under the Turkish domination there was more hope than for the Irish under the English. The Turks never were more than a garrison in Greece. The English have struck the deepest roots into all parts of Ireland, and by so many links has the conquest been riveted upon the native race, that it is too painful to contemplate even for a moment the only means by which the present state of things can be altered.”—Kohl’s *Ireland*, 1843.

And is all this mass of human misery to be regarded only with the eye of a professor of political economy? Is the minister of this great, this rich, this yet powerful country, to be for ever a mere chancellor of the exchequer?—whose only object is to supply the immediate wants of the moment, and whose only calculation is in pounds, shillings, and

pence? A wise and beneficent ruler should look to the individual interests of the people. It is recorded of the late Emperor of Austria, that walking one day, unattended, as was his custom, in the streets of his capital, he met a funeral, in which there were but four men to carry the corpse, and no one to follow it. Struck with the meanness of the spectacle, he accosted the parties, asking the reason why there were none to follow their comrade to the grave; on being told that the poor man was friendless, he replied, that he had not believed there was any one in his dominions so poor and destitute as not to have some friend to pay the last sad tribute to his remains;—but as he found it to be otherwise in this instance, he would take the office upon himself; and thereupon he accompanied the funeral, bare-headed, to the place of interment. Such were the sentiments, and such the conduct of a man who, by one portion of the English press, was reviled as a tyrant—as an enemy to the happiness of mankind. Yet our own rulers would do well to take a lesson from him, and ask within themselves, how many millions of poor, friendless, destitute creatures, has Providence entrusted to their keeping, and how they can provide for them? If they found not a ready answer in their own ingenuities, they might easily borrow it from the Sovereign of a neighbouring state—(there really seem to be none so unpractised in these matters as ourselves),—who once occupied a highly interesting position

near the throne of these realms, and who is still intimately connected with it. The King of the Belgians, in his last speech to the chambers, thus addresses them: "In order to efface all traces of a state of hostility now long passed over, and to restore to agriculture, lands still inundated, a new appeal will be made to your sentiments of equity and benevolence.....Belgium, so renowned for her agricultural progress, contains, nevertheless, a considerable uncultivated territory; and my government will ask you for powers to enable them to afford new resources to the population."

How obvious was it not for *our* government to have adopted these wise and benevolent sentiments, and to have made the royal speech to the United Parliament the harbinger of similar blessings to a portion of the empire doubtlessly as dear to Queen Victoria as the devastated and neglected districts of Belgium are to her royal uncle?

"In order to efface," might our gracious sovereign have said, "all traces of a state of discontent and hostility too long subsisting between the people of Ireland and the government in England, and to give to agriculture lands hitherto unprofitable and uncultivated, though in the midst of a starving population, an appeal will now, for the first time—such is the necessity of the case—be made to your sentiments of equity and benevolence."
 "Ireland, so renowned for the fertility of her soil, and her vast natural resources, contains, never-

theless, an immense uncultivated territory: but being equally remarkable for her deficiencies in agricultural science, as in her means of improvement, my government will ask you for powers to enable them to afford this new but obvious resource to the general interests of the empire, but more especially to the immediate wants of the destitute inhabitants of that interesting, important, but neglected portion of my dominions." Had such language as this been made to fall from the lips of *our* Sovereign, how would not the blessings of a whole people have been showered down upon her head!

The very circumstance even, so justly and so feelingly alluded to in a foregoing paragraph of the speech which I have cited—the recent visit of our youthful sovereign to her royal relative—might of itself have suggested (without waiting for the public expression of those wise and humane sentiments to do so, and which even *they* did not) the necessity of some great national effort to allay the discontent and alleviate the miseries of Ireland; for it could not fail to strike such of her Majesty's ministers as had the honour of accompanying her upon that occasion, that it might be very profitable to draw a lesson for their own instruction, from what they saw around them—a Catholic people who had but lately emancipated themselves from the petty persecutions and impolicy of a Protestant government, but who were, nevertheless, willing to submit themselves to the sway of a Protestant sovereign of their

own choice—a people occupied in healing the wounds of a severe internal revolution, thrown entirely upon their own resources, aided only by the cordial co-operation of a wise and benevolent monarch.—But the attributes of wisdom are still far from our counsels, and our rulers have neither the sagacity to see their faults, the magnanimity to own them, nor the virtue to correct them.

Even Mr. Montgomery Martin, who, in common with many others, has lately undertaken to direct them in their duties upon these matters in the most friendly guise, has told them of what in his opinion may be done, and what I have no doubt he sincerely wishes to be done for the improvement of Ireland, by measures which he deems calculated for the purpose.

“Were the monetary circulation,” says he, “in proportion to the number of inhabitants, the largest coalfield in the British Empire (Mallow) would not be utterly valueless;—the rich veins of copper, lead, and iron, would be profitably worked,—the fine slate and beautiful marble quarries would be in full activity, ministering to the comforts and elegancies of society,—the deep bays, large lakes, and noble rivers, teeming with fish of every variety, would not be, as now, perfectly useless. Nearly three million acres of bog land (as shown in the Appendix, p. 418) which might be reclaimed for about one million sterling, would be yielding food and employment for thousands of our fellow-creatures. Railways would not be confined to a small district of a few miles in extent; but Cork, with its capacious haven, would, if connected by a railroad with Dublin, most probably become the naval entrepôt for

British post-office communication with continental Europe, America, and our colonies.

“For these and other adducible reasons, I venture, Sir, to suggest to your superior knowledge and judgment, the propriety of permitting the incorporation of public bodies, who may be disposed to invest capital in the development of the resources, and in the employment of the people of Ireland.

“Millions of British capital have been vested in foreign loans and speculations, which have been entirely lost. One of the chief reasons for this lavish investment, was the known extent of liability. Were this definite liability conceded to Ireland, her mines and fisheries would contribute largely to the national wealth; the poor fishermen, without boats or nets, or piers to shelter them, would gladly avail themselves of small loans to pursue their dangerous vocation; and an invaluable class of seamen would be trained for the service of their country.

“Wealth, properly employed, would create more wealth; an industrious and keen-minded population, when in full, permanent, and remunerative occupation, would have their energies and talents devoted to useful pursuits, instead of to a pernicious political agitation, and the whole British Empire would become a participant in the general tranquillity and productive industry of the people of Ireland. To England there would be great gain by the increased prosperity of Ireland. Notwithstanding its manifest improvement since the Union, the consumption of British manufactures in Ireland is not more than one guinea per annum for each inhabitant of Ireland, whereas the negroes in the West Indies consume each *five* pounds worth per annum of British manufactures, and their fellow-subjects in Australasia each to the extent of *fifteen* pounds’ worth annually.

"If English capital were judiciously employed in Ireland, land which now only yields one-third per acre of the same produce as in England, would contribute largely for domestic use as well as for exportation; the Irish would become a *consuming* as well as a producing people, and instead of requiring merely seven to eight millions' worth annually of British manufactures, their wants might soon be increased, and the demand for manufactures be raised to at least five pounds a-head yearly, thus requiring annually of British goods to the amount of *forty* millions sterling."—Dedication to Sir Rt. Peel, Dec. 1843.

Now this is all very fine, and no doubt very charitably intended; but will any public body of Englishmen invest their capital in a scheme which must necessarily take years before it give any profitable return, and when it does, probably only at the rate of five or six per cent? Has it ever been yet known in this great commercial country, that money has been so invested? Are not our moneyed speculations in England of a very different character, all calculated upon steam power, with a steam rapidity of profit—manufactures quickly got up, and as quickly disposed of? English capital goes freely enough to Ireland to mortgage an estate of five per cent., or to construct a railroad which is *sure* to pay; but will it ever go for any equivocal or tardy speculation? The projectors would have to wait, too, for act after act to enable them to proceed in their designs, entailing an enormous expense, and consequently lessening and retarding their gains. Government alone could surmount all

the difficulties to be encountered in an undertaking of such magnitude, involving so many interests and entangled with such a multitude of details; requiring so much power, and energy, and constancy in the prosecution of it; and certainly returning nothing for some years. And if ever there was a time peculiarly suited for such undertakings, it is the present, when there is an almost unprecedented glut of money in the market. Manufactures they do not want, more than they have now; Heaven knows that these bring a curse as well as a blessing, and Ireland must sadly miscalculate her own happiness if she adopt as her model the manufacturing districts of England. Nature seems to have destined her for an agricultural country, and it is to agriculture that she must look for her happiness and prosperity.

But to proceed;—we have another report, on the same subject, in 1837, with this conclusion: “Many measures, local as well as general, have been proposed, either for removing existing restrictions to the application of capital, or for giving direct encouragement to its application in Ireland; and some of these measures I understand it to be the intention of Government to take into its early consideration, with a view to giving them effect. Of the measures necessary for calling into activity *the vast natural resources of the country*, your Lordship possesses the best means of forming a correct judgement. In the limited survey which I have been able to take

of the state of Ireland, and of the condition of the Irish people, it has appeared to me that quiet, and the absence of exciting and disturbing causes, is one of the objects chiefly to be desired. With repose would come security, and with security the investment of capital; and thence would arise employment, and the diffusion of wealth, and the development of the latent energies of the country. The proposed poor-law will not of itself accomplish these objects, but it will be found a valuable accessory; and with the progress of education, and that orderly submission to lawful authority which is at once the cause and the consequence of peace and prosperity, all those other objects will be eventually secured for Ireland."—It is not for want of reports that the Irish people have been left in their misery, or that "the vast natural resources of the country," have so long been suffered to lay dormant: but to the want of the recommendations of those reports being followed up; and which, for any practical benefit, have been little better than so much waste paper; for not one single measure, worth speaking of, has been adopted at their suggestion. Even the poor-law is a failure; misery and discontent are as abundant, and agitation has been as rife as ever. They who cry "Peace," will not give it: for they will neither feed the people, nor treat them justly. He who is starving will not cease his importunities till he be fed; nor will he who knows and feels that he is loaded with injustice withhold his complaints till he

obtain redress: it would be absurd to suppose he should. It is then the evil doer, and not the victim of his iniquity, who is the real violator of the peace. And hence it is, that they who are the most determined to refuse the covenant of peace—that is, the only terms upon which peace can be had—are yet the loudest to demand it, that they may seem to make their own, the fault of others. They have deluded, and still delude many, by the boldness of their assertions, and the sophistry of their arguments, while a slight examination would quickly expose their fallacy.—There is also another class of persons who very readily mislead our judgments, because we rely implicitly on their superior skill and knowledge in matters to which they have devoted the whole course of their studies—the professors of political economy; and this same Mr. Montgomery Martin is one who enjoys a high reputation in that line. But not content to confine himself to his own peculiar avocations, he goes out of his way to *prove* that Ireland has gained everything *by the Union*—even Catholic Emancipation!! and that there is “*not a shadow* of truth in the allegations put forth by the Repeal leaders” against that measure; while he also undertakes to alarm his readers with the desperate designs and wide-spreading combinations of “the conspirators,” and to invest the whole history of Ireland, civil and religious, with a new character; or rather, I should say, to revive the old, exploded version of facts which

had been too long distorted by prejudice, or mystified by a gross and wilful admixture of falsehood. Indeed, so rabid does he seem with enmity to Catholicity, that, even in the year 1843, he adopts the monstrous fabrications sanctioned only by the authority of Hume—his object being “the exposition of truth”—and of other infidel calumniators of the religion of Ireland, as authentic history. He still believes in the imputed massacre of 1641—that amongst Catholics, the use of the Bible is restricted to the priesthood alone—that the *Established* Church is the *ancient* Church of Ireland*—and that the infliction of the penal laws upon the Catholics of these kingdoms was a just and necessary consequence of a great political necessity! it being, *by means* of the legislative union only, that they obtained their release from them;—and this too, in his dedication to Sir Robert Peel! While, on the other hand, he seems never to have heard of the desolation of Munster, or the planting of Ulster, or of any other of those sundry petty misdemeanors committed, from time to time, by the Government of England upon the people of Ireland.

* Let me recommend to Mr. Montgomery Martin and other believers in this singularly paradoxical opinion, the Rev. Dr. Rock’s learned and able letter just published on this subject, and addressed to Lord John Manners (Dolman, 1844), while he may see the evidence for the disapproval of the reputed massacre, collected together in O’Connell’s Memoirs.

No wonder that one so credulous himself, should expect his readers to believe, as he informs us, that, though the absentee remittances to England were in 1785 equivalent to £3,000,000 of our present money, they have now fallen to two millions! And giving us all this as so many specimens of his habits of reasoning and powers of discernment,—can he be much surprised that all are not so very willing to defer to his arithmetical calculations of the prosperity of Ireland? Indeed, he seems as much abroad within the range of his own profession, as when he ventured into the more intricate fields of historical research. It is very easy to deceive with figures, but those who have been misled once, are not so readily duped a second time. When we calculate the prosperity of Ireland by her encreased export trade, then indeed is she in a flourishing condition: but while this tinsely show glitters on the surface, how much of accumulated misery is concealed beneath! Yet this is Mr. Montgomery Martin's chief test of what Ireland *has gained by the Union*. But when it is considered that these exports consist almost entirely of the necessaries of life, which the people are obliged to dispose of to pay their rent, leaving themselves, as we too well know, in a more miserable and destitute condition than any people within the limits of civilization, we may be again permitted to question the conclusions of the Professor. There is one point, however, in which I do agree with Mr. Mont-

gomery Martin,—that the agitation in Ireland must be suppressed,—though I differ with him in the *means*; thinking it more just, wise, and expedient, to employ some other alternative for the purpose, than the sacrifice of *blood* and treasure, and “the punishment” of those who dare to cry for a redress of grievances; which punishment, by the bye, is to be nothing less than confiscation of property to the Crown, and transportation of person beyond seas *for all Repealers whomsoever!!!* But the quotation will best shew the benignity of this gentleman’s feelings towards the Repealers, and serve as a sample of the propensities of men of his blind and misconceived opinions; while it is a sad reflection upon the age in which we live, that such sentiments should find their echo and applause amongst any portion of their fellow-subjects.

“There can scarcely be a doubt in the mind of any loyal and intelligent British subject, that *at any cost, at any sacrifice, whether of blood, or of wealth*, this most desolating and most pernicious agitation in Ireland must be suppressed; it is political suicide for England, even as regards herself, to permit its continuance; for the effect of such lawless demonstrations—of such marked contempt of the constituted authorities—of such an utter violation of the decencies of civilized language (in the foul epithets applied to the ministers of the crown, and to the whole British nation) of such an entire abuse of the privileges of constitutional freedom, as have emanated from the Irish Repealers, *will sooner or later be felt throughout Great Britain.*

“‘Repeal Lodges’ are now being formed in almost

every town in England and Scotland, aided by Roman Catholic priests, whose names appear among the leaders. The names of these lodges, and their organization and contributions to Ireland, are before me, and they indicate a formidable extent of combination. It is not, therefore, by the mere prosecution of an individual, whose pecuniary wants and rapacious extravagance, and that of his family and followers, urge them to sustain an agitation by which they receive at least £50,000 a year, that this demoralizing agitation is to be destroyed, and life and property secured in Ireland. *The evil ought to be extirpated from the root. If an act of the Imperial legislature were passed, declaring that all persons found guilty of aiding or promoting in any way the Repeal of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland, as by law established, be transported beyond the seas, and their property be confiscated to the crown, peace would be established in Ireland.* There can be no doubt that the Imperial Legislature would promptly rally round the minister, who would at once adopt this bold, just, and indispensable line of action. On the 25th of February 1834, *five hundred and twenty-three members of the united House of Commons declared their determination to preserve for ever the union inviolate; and they responded the echo to the assertion of the leading British minister (Lord Althorp) in that House, that 'civil war was to be preferred to a Repeal of the Union.'* Ten years have elapsed, and Ireland is still subject to the same agitation, the effects of which are now beginning to be manifested by the perpetration of the most atrocious crimes.

“ Most fully has it been shown in the preceding pages of this work, that there is not a shadow of truth in the allegations put forth by the Repeal leaders against the Union, but that this calumniated measure, even amid the many drawbacks of long continued and emaciating agitation, has

been the means of conferring the greatest benefits and blessings on Ireland. *No sane person would for a moment permit an incendiary or a madman to go through his house with a lighted torch in his hand, crying,—‘PEACE, PEACE—TRANQUILLITY, TRANQUILLITY!’* It is worse than weakness or folly, therefore, to permit the continuation of dangerous proceedings, having for their object the accomplishment of a separation of Ireland from England; the minister who would longer tolerate this treasonable or insane incendiarism, would betray his trust to the crown, and connive at the inevitable dismemberment and destruction of the British Empire.”—p. 393 et seq.

Yes! this most desolating and most pernicious agitation must be suppressed by other means than the sacrifice of blood, the confiscation of property, and transportation of person; by other means than state prosecutions and a standing army.

In contemplating the sacrifice of blood and waste of treasure, Mr. Montgomery Martin seems to overlook the fact, in common with her Majesty’s ministers, that they have nearly the whole population of Ireland in one great bond of union against them; and let me remark in passing, that it is a strange solecism in politics, instead of conciliating, to have selected for their antagonists those masses of the population of these kingdoms which alone are united in any common purpose, amidst the many motley groups which constitute the sum total of the Queen’s subjects. In England, in Scotland, in Wales, there is neither unity of object, nor unity of feeling; you may govern one section of the people by adding

your influence to the other; but in Ireland you have no such resource; you have only conciliation or the sword. If you conciliate, you gain the affections of a whole people; if, at the suggestion of Mr. Montgomery Martin, you draw the sword, you find a whole nation arrayed against you; not a nation divided and disorganized, as in '98—a rabble exposing themselves before you as a prey in the toils, by the excessive use of intoxicating liquors—but the people of '82, determined to free themselves from your injustice, or perish under the ruins of their country; a people excited by the remembrance of all their ancient wrongs; combating with the desperation of utter indifference to the wretched existence to which you have condemned them, yet elated by the hope of a brilliant future, and burning with the fire of religious enthusiasm.

Such are the people whom you will choose for your antagonists, if you have the folly, the rashness, and the impiety to draw the sword upon them; and that, too, in a country in which they will have many advantages over you, for it is one peculiarly adapted to guerilla warfare.—And what means have you with which to prosecute your war? Recollect that the Irish people will give you no provocation, no excuse; so that the time and circumstances will not be of your own choosing; they will bide *their* time; they may take it when you are engaged in a foreign conflict, and when a fleet of steamers may speedily carry a friendly army to their shores—

friendly to them, but hostile to you; they may take it when they find you occupied with your own internal commotions; when the summer of '42 returns, with a return of your commercial embarrassments.

The Irish troops will not be to be trusted in Ireland, for they carry in their bosoms the remembrance of Ireland's wrongs: they will be as little to be trusted in England, for the disturbed districts will be full of their much-injured countrymen, full of Repealers, full of sympathizers with Ireland. Neither have we any foreign mercenaries in our pay, as we had in '98. Only the summer before last, when nearly the whole of the manufacturing districts of England were in a state of fearful disaffection, disorganization, and even revolt, excited by mobs bent on plunder and destruction, had O'Connell moved, we were paralyzed. "Ireland's opportunity" appeared to have arrived: but no! he was no abettor of violence and bloodshed; he denounced Chartism and the Chartists, and allowed you to withdraw the very troops from Ireland with which you quelled the insurrectionary movement in England. And this is now the generous return you make him, and the encouragement you give him to act a similar part again—to convict him as a conspirator against the state! You might have checked the monster meetings, as in fact you did, by mere proclamation, but nothing less would satisfy you than the experiment of a packed jury and a mock trial, and which certainly has succeeded to your satisfaction.

The condition of Ireland is a question which—thanks to agitation—now occupies every mind, which is becoming more and more familiar by constant repetition and discussion, and is withal so clear and simple in its leading characteristics as to come within the comprehension of all.* Even the soldier and the sailor may attain to the knowledge of it; at all events, in case of a civil war, they can no longer be managed like mere pieces of machinery upon a field-day parade: while the altered feeling towards Ireland, so strongly expressed of late by all classes of Englishmen, would prove by no means without its weight, should that lamentable crisis arrive which it is now too much the fashion to contemplate. Yes, Mr. Montgomery Martin! you were disappointed at Clontarf; it is not when you are “prepared,” not when an unarmed multitude are hemmed in by an array of fixed bayonets, that the signal will be given, and the opportunity afforded you. No; Ireland will not rebel. Canada rebelled, and you redressed her grievances. This is no poor encouragement; but Ireland has too much of principle

* Mr. O’Connell thus expressed himself in ’41, in the Repeal Association, on the advantages of agitation by discussion: “I always found in political matters it was necessary to repeat facts over and over again, before the community at large saw them. There was in that repetition a kind of magic power to cause them to become known and inquired into, and to make a due impression on the public mind.”

and virtue not to resist the temptation, and bear her wrongs till she can assert her rights,—by revolution perhaps; not by rebellion. Rebellion is to rise unjustly in violent opposition to lawful authority; revolution is a due exercise of the constitutional rights of a people for the redress of grievances. The extent to which it should go can only be governed by the particular circumstances of the case. In Belgium it produced separation, because the grievances came more directly from the sovereign, and there was no security in any middle course. In France, too, the fault was with the sovereign, and the sovereign was dispossessed of his throne. The same was the case in Portugal; nearly the same in Spain. But in every case the people exercised their rights,—perhaps in some they surpassed them,—and grounded their resistance upon the plea that the oppressions under which they suffered were become intolerable, and that the duties of the government had devolved on *them*. We did not hesitate a moment in giving our sanction to these movements, as far as our sanction could be expressed, by forming alliances with the new dynasties and the new governments. Some even we assisted with men and treasure, as well as by our sympathies, towards the attainment of what we conceived, in common with themselves, to be their just and inalienable rights. Greece, too, might be cited as another example, in this revolutionary age, of the rights of a people to administer

justice to themselves in failure of all other means, and of the active sympathies of England in the cause of freedom. Our best wishes alone accompanied the Poles in their struggle for independence, because they were unapproachable by steam, and prudence required our neutrality. Did it ever occur to any one to stigmatize any one of these movements or convulsions as rebellions? Did it ever occur to any one so to stigmatize the spirited movement of the Irish volunteers in 1782? They made their preparations in the face of day for resistance to the law, for it was the law which oppressed them; they watched their time, and when England was occupied with her revolted subjects in America, the consequence of her own tyranny, they stood for their rights and gained them. Did the government of the day undertake a state prosecution against the leaders of the demonstration? No, they yielded to their own necessities, and to the just demands of Ireland. They freely acknowledged their own injustice, courted their conquerors with honied phrases, and even offered to reward the patriot who had led on his country to the battle. Did it ever occur to any one to libel the Revolution of 1688 as a rebellion? though the boon it brought was singularly chequered,—a strange mixture of civil freedom and religious slavery? The Earl of Shrewsbury of the day was one of those who went over to invite the Stadholder of Holland to come with an army of foreign mercenaries and drive

his father-in-law from his throne, for having invaded the rights and violated the liberties of his people; and have any of you ever censured him for so doing? At the time, it raised him to the dukedom.—Ireland, however, was no party to these transactions; she stood for the dethroned monarch,—because what she most wanted was liberty of conscience,—she fought, and treated. And when were the conditions of that treaty fulfilled by which Ireland became again united under the sovereignty of England? Not till Mr. O'Connell,—that convicted conspirator against the constituted authorities of the country,—had so brought the power of the people to bear upon those constituted authorities, that they reluctantly consented to the fulfilment of that long violated treaty. Then, indeed, when they found all further resistance to be unavailing, the condition of the Treaty of Limerick, and the pledge of the Union, were redeemed together; the one, a hundred and thirty-eight, and the other twenty-nine years after they were made. By their obstinacy they won for Mr. O'Connell the honoured title of “the Liberator of his Country,” but had not even the tact to earn one suffrage for themselves as their predecessors had done in '82; for while they gave him Emancipation, instead of yielding it with grace, they threw it at his feet, as a vanquished enemy throws his sword at the foot of his victor.

Is it that Ireland, of all nations under the sun, is ever to be debarred from the rights of a free state?

Is it that Ireland is never to have faith kept, or justice done, but through the process of agitation; with her people on the verge of revolution; and her rulers terrified into compliance? And are all these lessons to be thrown away upon us? "History is philosophy teaching by example;" if we will not learn it from our own, let us study it in the history of others. Let us remember that persecution in Germany produced anarchy and confusion for thirty years: that when France became a persecuting country, civil war was her portion: it was the same also in the Low Countries. But how is it now? In Germany, France, Holland, and Belgium, you have a real, effective equality between the two religions; and consequently, as far as that goes, perfect internal peace.* Why do we not copy these, instead of chiming in with the policy of a Government which no one has ever yet had the audacity to hold up as a model for imitation? How comes it that two nations which, by all rule and reason, ought to be the very antipodes in the art of governing, should yet be found walking hand in hand upon the same level,—Russia ruling Poland as we ruled Ireland in the days of Elizabeth,—we still ruling Ireland in the same spirit, though in a mitigated form, always as an alien and a stranger, often as an enemy to be subdued by force?

* The contest between the University and Louis Philippe is no sectarian squabble; it is a contest between infidelity and Christianity.

The tenacity with which we adhere to this system, is really, after Father Matthew's temperance prodigy, the greatest moral wonder of the age. Would to God it had the same virtue to recommend it! but may not the mystery be deciphered by deeming it to be permitted as a counterpoise, lest the balance between good and evil should be disturbed? Is it possible that every individual relaxation of the penal code, beginning with 1778 and ending with 1829; then the Great Reform Bill, the Irish Tithe Bill, the Education Board, and even the miserably-stinted municipal privileges so reluctantly granted to Irish corporations,—should, all and one, have been carried, not as Mr. Montgomery Martin tells us, by *means* of the Union, but in the face of a strong opposing power, by *means* of a heavy “pressure from without”? and that the solemn declaration of last year, that concession had passed its utmost limits, (made with the intent that it should prove the *coup de grace* to that system, cutting it off from all future hope,) was so soon to be recalled, and the very next session commence,—the interval having been one of singular exertion among the movement party,—by new and unexpected concessions; not, however, in a generous and enlarged spirit, calculated to answer the demands of justice, or the object of the concessions themselves, but just sufficient to show that success *might* be attainable under a more vigorous system

of agitation, and yet attainable by those means alone ?* They who gave them could hardly be so childish as

* You first relaxed the penal code in 1778, that you might recruit your strength in Ireland while you lost it in America; in '82 you were again in trouble and in danger, and again you relaxed the penal code; while during the same year the independence of the Irish Parliament was extorted from you, by the whole nation putting itself into an attitude of stern and resolute defiance. In '92 the Catholics of Ireland petitioned their Parliament for another instalment of justice—the petition was rejected with disdain, and not even suffered to lay upon the table; but before the close of the same year, the French revolutionary war broke out, and the minister himself proposed, and the very same Parliament assented to, a third relaxation of the penal code.

After “the fomented Rebellion,” as I fear it is too justly styled, the Union was accomplished; one of the many bribes through which that measure had been forced on a reluctant people, was a promise of complete emancipation—but the Sovereign opposed, and the minister renounced, the performance of his pledge; nor was it till agitation had ran her wildest course, and threatened to break out into open violence, that the redemption of that pledge was exacted from those who were banded together for the very purpose of perpetuating its violation!

This great triumph of agitation was only the prelude to another, and the Reform Bill was wrested from the reluctant hand of those, in whom a love of power and every motive of interest conspired to make them cling to the abuses which it swept before it.

Irish tithes were the next exploit of this skilful and daring champion; the battle was fierce, obstinate, and

to suppose that such little nibblings should either satisfy the cravings of those to whom they were dealt out, or lay the spirit of agitation. It was like feeding a lion with a mite, or attempting to bring down an eagle with a pop-gun. Far be it from me to chide them for these instalments of justice, such as they are; "the smallest contributions should be thankfully received," provided they do not pledge the receiver to cease his importunities for what is still due. It is better thus to keep Ireland in play, than, by driving her to despair, run the risk of finding an occasion for the application of Mr. Montgomery Martin's recipe of letting blood. Though his work is dedicated to the First Lord of the Treasury, it was so—I venture to hope—without his knowledge or permission, certainly without his being privy to its contents; for Sir Robert Peel is not a man of blood, nor will Mr. Montgomery Martin's recommendation find favour in his eyes: no, before the sword is drawn, he will listen to the cries of distress; he will yield to the vociferations of the multitude; he will imitate the minister of '82; he will imitate himself in '29. Or should this, as we

destructive; yet *they* also became a spoil to the conqueror, and were sacrificed upon the altar of justice. Nor was the famishing peasant thenceforth compelled to divide his potage with the man who, under the guise of a minister of peace, brought him only war and strife, and who had no other office, than to revile him as an idolator, or chide him as a superstitious fool.

may readily conceive, prove repugnant to his feelings, he will cede the way to others who have a better right and title to be the pacificators of Ireland.

It is really lamentable to be thus compelled to contemplate such fearful contingencies as civil war or revolution; both are awful recipes for the cure of political, social, and religious grievances; but while the party opposed to justice is that on which the direful responsibility must rest, and on which the penalties of the sin should fall, yet they have ever been the first to threaten us with this alternative. Blood and war is still, as it ever has been, the favourite theme of the zealots of the day; and for what? Why!—as if the judgment of Heaven were upon them, and they were condemned to be true to their own iniquity to the end,—to maintain a Church which was planted amidst blood, confiscation, and ruin; which has lived upon plunder, and thriven on oppression, filling the land with wailing and desolation, and sending generation after generation to the grave with a hatred of England, because she would not release them from her iron grasp; a Church which has ever ruled with the sword instead of the crozier; known only to the poor by its rapacity, and to the wealthy by its avarice.* Such was, and such is, in a modified

* “The following is an extract from the probate of wills, as laid before the House of Commons, July 12, 1832.—Fowler, Archbishop of Dublin, left 150,000*l.*; Beresford,

form, the Church for which the bigots are still calling upon you to draw the blood of the people; and which, even Ministers have the folly to declare to be worth staking against the peace and security of the whole empire.—It is a Church which has never fulfilled any one object of the religion of a God of charity and justice. From the beginning, she strove to persecute into compliance; but this failing, she endeavoured to exterminate those whom she came to convert. But even this was no protection to her; for, from the remnant which escaped the slaughter,—as if to revenge Himself on the persecutors of His people, and proclaim the power of God over the machinations of impious men,—she has seen them rise again as the multiplied grain from the seed, that seed being the blood of the martyrs whom she immolated, that she might fill their place, and hold their station.* It is this Church

Archbishop of Tuam, left 250,000*l.*; Agar, Archbishop of Cashel, left 400,000*l.*; Stopford, Bishop of Cork, left 25,000*l.*; Percy, Bishop of Dromore, left 40,000*l.*; Cleaver, Bishop of Ferns, left 50,000*l.*; Bernard, Bishop of Limerick, left 60,000*l.*; Porter, Bishop of Clogher, left 250,000; Hawkins, of Raphoe, left 250,000*l.*; Knox, of Killaloe, left 100,000*l.*; Stuart, of Armagh, 300,000*l.*—Total, 1,875,000*l.*, besides maintaining their wives and families,—all, with two exceptions, Englishmen.”—*Ireland as a Kingdom and a Colony*, p. 239.

* Of course I speak of the English Church in *Ireland*. In this country she is in a very different position, and, generally speaking, of a very different character. In

which, still true to her destinies, has occasioned all the miseries of these latter days. It was the Church which checked her measure of parliamentary reform, the Church which clipped her municipal immunities, the Church which occasioned the bloodshed and vexations of the tithe-war. It was the Church which retarded Emancipation till 1829, and rendered the following sketch a faithful portraiture of Ireland at that period:—

“Only last year (1829), and this country was agitated from end to end, from its extremities to its very centre. The dominion of the passions prevailed over the dominion of the law ; and men, born to love each other, contended to almost the shedding of each other’s blood ; the public interests were neglected or forgotten ; the ties of kindred were broken ; the power of government was weakened ; the laws themselves were paralysed ; and religion, which used to silence passion, and consolidate the public peace, was unable freely to discharge her functions.”†

And how far is this from being as true a picture of the present year as it was of the year 1829? Not long since, and I also looked upon the Church, as the Catholic hierarchy of Ireland regarded it at that

these observations, I have not hesitated to identify the Church with the State, because, by her representatives, she was a party to every penal enactment against the Catholics, and because the declared object of those enactments was *the due service of Almighty God*, by the extirpation of Catholicity, and the substitution of the *principles* of the Reformation.

† Address of the Hierarchy of Ireland, 1830.

period. We knew it to be a palpable grievance and a crying injustice, but we thought the evil might be gradually removed by other means, or neutralized by the extinction of all other grievances. No doubt a compromise might then have been purchased,—even the Appropriation clause would have sufficed at a later period,—by just and large concessions to the rights and requirements of the Church of the people. But neither the one nor the other suited the feelings of the party which only yielded Emancipation by extortion, and which has ever since contrived to maintain its ascendancy in at least one branch of the legislature. The Catholic hierarchy, at that period, evinced a generosity of feeling which was not responded to by the government; and the subsequent treatment of Ireland has contrived, year after year, to alienate her affections and rouse her indignation; while the Great Reform opened the eyes of all, to what they had but dimly discerned before, the monstrous injustices and inequalities under which they laboured. During every contest which has succeeded, the Church has ever been found foremost in the battle against right and justice: and while she fought for ascendancy herself, she drew a host to her side who fought also for the maintenance of her mischievous superiority;—and it is the Church which still agitates Ireland from one extremity to the other, which drives peace and prosperity from her shores, which lowers the condition of the Irish peasant be-

neath that of the veriest serf in Christendom, and marks her people with the most galling badge of servitude—the compulsory payment of a clergy from whom they receive nothing in return. It is the Church which is “her monster evil,” not only through the weight of injustice with which she presses upon the country, but because, if the Church were gone you would make Ireland happy. You would soon forget her Catholicity, when you had lost your Protestant ascendancy;—when the Minister no longer depended upon the Church, and the Church upon the Minister—when you no longer lived by the Church, nor the Church by you, then would you govern Ireland as you govern Scotland and Wales. Not many years would elapse before Mr. O’Connell would no longer be able to captivate the understandings of his hearers with the startling fact, that Wales with a smaller population sends 28 members to Parliament, while the county of Cork with a larger population by 50,000, returns but 8; or that Scotland, with little more than 2,500,000 inhabitants, received an addition of 8 members under the Reform Bill, while Ireland, with upwards of 7,000,000, and most inadequately represented as she was, was allowed but 5!*

*At the Union, Ireland was compelled to surrender two-thirds of her representation; England, Scotland, and Wales, retained the *whole* of theirs: this was unfair as a compact founded on just principles of reciprocity. “The Reform Bill afforded an opportunity to remedy this

There is no truth more clear than that the cry for Repeal is a cry for the curtailment of the

grievance. There were 220 members, which had belonged to the extinguished boroughs, to be distributed between these three countries. Scotland, with a population of little more than 2,500,000, got 8 in addition to her 45. England (then with a population of 13,000,000) took to her own share 207 out of 220 members, and distributed some amongst her great towns, and the far greater part amongst her counties, according to the ratio of their respective population. Ireland, at that time containing more than 7,000,000 of inhabitants, got an increase of only 5 members!"—O'Connell's address.

Now, the excuse for this inequality has ever been (as Mr. Montgomery Martin expresses it) "that Ireland has fifty representatives in the Imperial Parliament more than she is entitled to send by her *contributions* to the Imperial revenue, by her *property*, and by her *foreign commerce*." But how Mr. M. Martin reconciles this assertion to the statement which he puts forth in the very same page from which it is taken, I am at a loss to imagine. He there says: "These pages also fully demonstrate, that the agriculture of Ireland has been greatly extended since the Union—that the linen and cotton manufactures have been considerably augmented—that the savings banks, customs, excise, post-office receipts and stamps, have largely increased; thus indicating the improved condition of the great bulk of the people—that the value of land has been raised from seventeen to twenty-seven years' purchase—that the taxation of Ireland, which was *twenty* shillings annually per head in 1800, is now only *ten* shillings annually—that, in fine, the Legislative Union of 1800 has been the means of conferring *vast and incalculable* benefits on

Church—nor is there a position more certain than that the solemn declaration against Repeal from a

Ireland." Now if all this be true, and to a certain extent the resources of Ireland, in spite of all obstacles, *have* encreased—while her population has nearly doubled itself since the Union—with what face is it that Mr. M. Martin asserts that she enjoys an allowance of *fifty* representatives beyond what *her property and her foreign commerce* justly entitle her to? Did any one ever surmise that at the Union *more* than justice was done by giving her 100 representatives? And yet Mr. M. Martin himself, now asserts, that since that period her property ^{has} encreased in value from 17 to 27, and her foreign or external commerce fourfold at the least, while the *contributions* she has made to the Imperial forces both by sea and land, have doubled. Such are his criterions for the rights of representation; yet what are his conclusions? Instead of 100, she is now entitled to 200 representatives? No; but instead of the 100 which were even sparingly allotted to her when she was only half as rich and prosperous as she is now, she is entitled only to 50! Such is Mr. M. Martin's logic. But he would save himself from his paradox by the fact that the *monetary* contributions from Ireland to the Imperial revenue are lamentably deficient. Be it so; but to give any weight to this argument, he must put it thus, "Ireland is poor from the want of a 'good government' to bring her immense natural resources into activity, that good government which Sir Wm. Temple contemplated for her, now two hundred years ago, but which has never yet come, because good government can only rest (such certainly is the principle of the British constitution) upon an adequate popular representation,—one through which her wants may be known, and her influence felt, in the

Conservative government, is an equally solemn declaration that the Church is to be maintained *in all its integrity*. It is, therefore, the Church, and nothing but the Church, which is the bone of contention, and till it be surrendered to those who have the best right—and power can no longer shield it—you may have an armed truce, but you will have no real peace in Ireland;—the present government, then, are not likely to be the instruments employed for the pacification of that country. Let

assemblies which legislate for her,—therefore, *because* she is poor, she shall not enjoy the means of becoming rich: we will first condemn her to poverty, then upbraid her for it, and then deny her the means of extricating herself from it! Such must be the reasoning of Mr. Montgomery Martin, and of those who contend, that because her riches do not correspond with her population and with her vast natural resources, *therefore* she has forfeited her rights; though it is from the want of those very rights that she has been placed in this predicament. Had the Reform Bill given her even 25 instead of 5 additional representatives, she might have been grateful for it; but to limit her to 5 was not only an injustice but an insult: it was a decree to perpetuate her poverty and discontent.—I had rather argue against the advantages of political privileges altogether, amongst a people unaccustomed to them, than maintain the policy of denying to those whose lot is cast under a constitutional monarchy, their fair share of popular rights. If you endow them with only a stinted measure of privileges, you give them just enough to teach them to comprehend their insufficiency, and to make their own impotency under them the more apparent.

it be remembered that when we speak of the destruction or the surrender of the Church, we mean only its due and reasonable apportionment amongst the people—where there is a Protestant congregation, let them have all the attributes, all the advantages of an Establishment; none wish to see her taken from those who belong to her, but we protest against her being forced on those who reject her; no one desires to treat *them* with the injustice with which they have treated others; her ministers should be allowed to die out in their present holdings, but not to perpetuate the glaring grievance of a Church which was intended for the whole, being confined to one small section of the population.*

* The comparative enumeration of the various religionists in Ireland, made by the Commissioners of Public Instruction in 1834, stood thus.

Members of the Established Church	752,064
Presbyterians - - -	642,356
Other Dissenters - - -	121,808
Catholics - - -	6,427,712
	7,943,940

This enumeration was always esteemed as considerably over-rated for the Protestants, and under-rated for the Catholics, while it is universally acknowledged that the relative proportions of the two have very much changed in favour of the latter, since that period: so that seven millions is by no means a high estimate for the Catholics under the census of 1841; leaving 1,200,000 between the Anglicans and the Presbyterians, and which are supposed to be pretty equally divided. The Presbyterians, however,

That section is a mere remnant, yet at this moment it governs the three kingdoms, and governs them by

though they generally supported the Conservatives at the last election, are now in open arms against the Government, on their marriage grievance; bringing all their ancient animosities against prelacy—against that “fatal fiction of apostolical succession,” as they term it, and against “men in surplices and holy orders,” as they style them—to bear upon their antagonists in the question; and which question they seem to be agitating with all the fierceness of the Covenanters of old; so that the Established Church has no more claim to number *them* amongst its adherents, than it has the singularly small band of 120,000 dissenters. Thus we have 7,000,000 of Catholics contending for their rights against 700,000 Anglicans; with a further auxiliary force, equal to the whole amount of those in possession of the ecclesiastical temporalities of Ireland, to back them in the contest;—7,700,000 against 700,000! The odds are startling, but “no matter,” say they, “*the principles of the Reformation* must be maintained and carried out!” for their zeal blinds them to the reflection of how quickly these odds have grown upon them since the day on which Lord Bristol, the celebrated Bishop of Derry, said, and said truly—“*One million of divided Protestants* can never, in the scale of human government, be a counterpoise against *three millions of united Catholics*. TYRANNY IS NOT GOVERNMENT, AND ALLEGIANCE IS DUE ONLY TO PROTECTION.” Why the census of ’41 did not enter upon the particulars brought under the observation of the Commissioners of Public Instruction, I know not; but elaborate as it is, it is exceedingly imperfect,—it neither gives us the relative numbers of the two religions; nor their relative church accommodation; nor the number of holders of *small* plots of ground, distinguish-

one of those monstrous delusions with which Providence stultifies the intellect of those whom it is to be feared have filled the measure of their iniquity, and are already doomed to destruction. The Church feels her weakness and sees her danger, and she cries out for protection. She has neither the sense, nor the virtue to seek it in justice, nor the wisdom to surrender an useless portion of her usurpation to save that to which she has a better claim; nor the policy to lop off a cumbersome excrescence from the tree, to give more strength and soundness to the remaining branches. She is blinded by the eagerness and hurry of her defence, and sees only her enemy, without measuring his strength; she has too long played the victor over him, to believe that she is ever to be discomfited herself, and still dooms

ing those who pay exorbitant, from those who pay moderate rents; nor the number of persons in a state of destitution during thirty weeks in the year; nor of those who are suffering from want of employment, though in a lesser degree; nor the *rental* of the cabins which serve the poor of Ireland as an apology for houses; nor the sufficiency, or insufficiency of hospitals for the poor, &c. &c.

It tells us, certainly, that nearly half the families of the rural population—numbering 3,470,725 persons—and somewhat more than one third of the civic, live in *mud huts of one room only*, and that nearly the same proportion (but little removed in comfort), live in cabins, (mud-built), with from two to four windows, and rooms; and that out of the total resident population, after deducting children under five years of age, there remain 3,766,066 unable to read or write.

him to destruction. She calls aloud upon the state, upon which she has ever depended for her security, rallies round her all the timid and the foolish, and the interested and the selfish, together with many well-meaning and honest auxiliaries, under pretence that every blow and discouragement to *her*, is a blow and discouragement to the *monarchy*, and that the fate of the English is to be ruled by the destinies of the Irish Church. Backed by this array, she still fancies herself invincible, and will not retreat a foot. She can no more bear to see the towers and spires of her usurped domains receding from her, than could Napoleon resolve in time to turn his back upon the glittering domes and minarets of Moscow. Let her beware lest his fate become hers. He disdainfully rejected the honourable conditions offered him, to spare him half his empire, and then lost it all. Proud, arrogant, and domineering, she refuses all concession, because concession would emancipate her enemy from her thralldom, and that enemy is the Catholic population of Ireland.

Thus the religion of Ireland ever stands in the gate of justice; and because she will not surrender the faith of her forefathers, she is condemned to the tedious, harassing, and even dangerous warfare, in which she has been so long engaged—fighting inch by inch for every right.

I am as much alive to the dangers, and the evils, of agitation as ever; but, seeing there is no other course for the attainment of justice, and that agita-

tion has hitherto brought many beneficial changes, which the fatuitous obstinacy of our rulers would not concede to right or reason, I am very far from being prepared to say that they who are now driven to that extremity, are not fully justified therein. The good is positive, and I hope lasting; the evil is temporary, or, in a great measure, problematical. As long as the question still is, whether Ireland is to receive her rights from the justice, or through the humiliation, of England, so long do you compel her to agitate, both on her own account and yours; for, taking the possible alternative into the calculation, she is bound to leave nothing undone to obtain redress, by peaceable, legal, and constitutional means; while it is *on the part of England* that the contest is unnatural and unjust, being carried on in direct opposition to your own established principles,—those of civil and religious liberty.

I deprecated agitation under the late Government, because I thought it uncalled for, and therefore prejudicial: I even exposed myself to obloquy, in condemning agitation at the commencement of the present administration, because I could not but believe, or at least hope, that men who had the power, would, in the generous hour of triumph, also exert it in the cause of justice and humanity, if it were only to rescue themselves from “the difficulty” which they must have seen would otherwise beset them at every turn, and counteract any schemes which they might contemplate for the general improvement of the empire. But I now see with

sorrow how vain it is to rely on those who have ever allied themselves with faction, or once surrendered their reason to the dominion of prejudice.

Let us revert, for an instant, to the situation of things previous to their entering upon office, and to that in which they stand now. In March '40, Mr. Sheil, speaking on the Registration Bill, said: "Why make the experiment at the present moment? Ireland is in a state of political tranquillity; look at the tithe question, that is adjusted; *the feeling on another question is dormant, if not dead.*" Yet in March '44, Ireland is again agitated, in spirit at least, from one extremity to the other, being only restrained from the continuance of those demonstrations which precede and prepare revolution, by the presence of an imposing military force; while Repeal has again risen from its death-like stillness with a clamour which startles the whole empire into attention, and compels you to respect what you have hitherto flattered yourselves that you were able to despise. Is it that *you* have deteriorated from what you were? that your bigotry is grown more intense, your monopoly more exclusive, your tyranny more galling? or is it that the miseries of Ireland have so rapidly augmented? No, but the world sees more clearly the thralldom under which you rule. "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick," and all hope of your amendment is gone, while you have established yourselves as a still more 'difficult' barrier between Ireland and those who were willing and anxious to

serve her. Therefore, has Ireland, also, chosen her part, and proclaimed an implacable war against you; therefore does she gather recruits from every quarter, and strength from her increasing difficulties. And thus it is that *your* difficulties also have increased, and that you have verified your prophecy to the letter, that Ireland would be "the difficulty" of your government. A system of government—indeed it is unworthy of the name—which, instead of being directed by enlarged and commanding principles of State Policy, either opposes with a mistaken or a malicious enmity—it matters little which to any but themselves—or entrenches itself behind a sullen neutrality, and at length yields to the apprehension of brute force, under a protest that neither right nor reason have subdued it, but only a stern necessity against which it has no longer any weapons to contend,—cannot surely be expected either to produce the fruits of a spontaneous measure of grace amongst those to whom the capitulation is made, or to win for themselves, when compelled to make it, the esteem or confidence of their own adherents. Yet such has been the character of our legislation during the last sixty years, ever since "a moral influence," backed by threatening demonstrations of physical force, have been brought to act upon the government of the country. A wise Government should know how to profit by experience, and to regulate the present by the past; they should be gifted with the capacity to discern the signs of

coming events, to calculate the chances before they enter upon the field of contention, and to distinguish between the consequences of measures dictated in a spirit of justice, and originating with themselves, and those which are wrung from them at the termination of a long and an arduous struggle. But, certainly, none of these attributes are the qualifications of our present ministry for the exercise of their high and important functions, nor have they ever been suffered to be applied by others to the government of Ireland upon any sufficient scale. This wretched policy of never acting upon a wise and prudent foresight, but ever waiting for the event, and then contending with the hard necessity of the moment, by some paltry and temporary, because insufficient expedient,—attempting to ward off the danger after the mischief is done, or, as the French term it, *après le fait accompli*,—is, of all others, the least suitable to times in which the ever increasing knowledge and intelligence of the people, are opening their eyes to one injustice after another, and driving them onwards to a succession of triumphs of Right over Might. The very circumstances, too, from which they have just emerged, and under which the victory has been gained, demand a larger amount of concession as a guarantee against a recurrence of the evils from which they have so recently escaped, feeling as they must, that the very first opportunity would be seized to violate the treaty, and regain the position from

which their opponents had been with so much difficulty dislodged. And if this hold good as a general maxim, it is more peculiarly applicable to Ireland, both from the events of her former political contests, and the character of her people,—a character which has ever prompted them to confide in those to whom confidence was not due. For, no sooner had the English Parliament fully and unequivocally acknowledged the legislative independence of Ireland, than all classes, in the exuberance of their gratitude, neglected the dictates of prudence, being the first to forget what the Government never ceased to remember, that they had won their liberties from reluctant hands, ever eager to grasp again at the reins they had only slackened through compulsion. The design, too, was carefully cloaked under the specious words of satisfaction at the past, and fair promises for the future, so that a guileless, unsuspecting people, were thrown off their guard, and the more fearfully exposed to all the stratagems of an insidious and remorseless enemy.

“Cultivate and diffuse,” said they in '82, addressing their parting words to the representatives of the people, “those sentiments of affection and confidence which are now happily restored between the two kingdoms; convince the people in your several districts, as you are yourselves convinced, that every cause of past jealousies and discontents is *finally removed*, that both countries have *pledged* their *good faith* to each other, and that their best secu-

rity will be an *inviolable* adherence to *that compact*; that the implicit reliance which Great Britain has reposed on the honour, generosity, and candour of Ireland, engages your national character to a return of sentiments equally liberal and enlarged; convince them that the two kingdoms are NOW ONE, *indissolubly* connected in unity of *constitution*, and unity of interests; and that the danger and security, the prosperity and calamity of the one, must equally affect the other,—that they stand and fall together.”*

Lulled by these flattering words into a false security, they neglected to consolidate the power they had acquired, and entertaining no sinister views themselves, they disdained to suspect others. The consequence was, that not only their young liberties, but their very independence, were speedily inveigled from them, and they were consigned, bound hand and foot, to the merciful keeping of a master who was determined neither to grant them a fair partnership in his house, nor suffer them to break away from him again.

The same game was played in '29; the same professions of carrying out the Catholic Relief Bill to its “fair and honest execution,” and if not the same secret determination on the part of all, to control its legitimate action, yet the same facilities

* The Viceroy's speech on the Prorogation of the Irish Parliament, July 27th, 1782.

afforded to those who were resolved to do so ; thus inculcating the whole party, upon the maxim, *qui fecit per alium fecit per se*, generating the same want of confidence in public men, and justifying the enlarged demands upon them. These impressions, and these same causes, are now in more vigorous operation than ever, daily exciting among the people of Ireland a still greater mistrust of their rulers, a still deeper and more determined resistance to wrong, a still more undaunted resolution to gain their rights, and a still firmer conviction that they have no other hope but in their own energies.

Yet I cannot but entertain the same opinions I have ever held on the inexpediency of Repeal. Considered only as an abstract right,—apart from the complicated interests and extreme opinions which are mixed up with it,—there can be no question but that the argument is decidedly with its advocates. The Union was achieved by fraud and force,—it was a compact between two contracting parties, one of them certainly without any true credentials; for the Irish Parliament, as it was then constituted—not only without any just basis of popular representation, but filled with English and Scotch officers and placemen who swelled the Government majorities—had certainly but a very equivocal right to barter away the independence and the immunities of the country, and which could only be done by a palpable breach of a previous contract (if such contracts can be supposed to be binding on futurity)—

the *final adjustment* entered into (as we have just seen) between the two nations in 1782, by which the independence of the Irish Parliament was secured to her for ever. The promises, too, by which the minister coaxed the Catholic party into compliance, were immediately and shamefully violated, while it has never yet fulfilled any one object that was professed to be contemplated by it. It is still only a union upon parchment. But, whilst we admit the abstract right, that right appears to me to be abrogated by the extreme danger and consequent inexpediency of a measure, of which the workings seem fraught with so much hazard to both countries. Right in political morality must ever be governed by expediency; though nothing can ever be expedient which is not just. It never could be just for Ireland to revolt from the sovereignty of England, because that never could be expedient. I use, then, the word expediency in its true and legitimate sense; every measure being good or bad according to its fitness for the object proposed to be attained,—the means themselves being just and honourable, and the object itself being good.

Taking this view of Repeal, I can only consider the agitation for it, as a means to an end; that end being the redress of great and crying grievances. For whatever hazard may attend the agitation, the danger of allowing things to remain as they are is greater still. The actual grievance is incomparably the greater evil, and in a choice of evils we must take the least.

As no consideration of matters relating to Ireland can be appropriate to the present moment which does not include the State Trials, seeing that they constitute a new era in the history of the contest between the Irish malcontents and the ruling powers in England, and have produced an important change in the relative position of the contending parties, I will venture a word or two upon them. The details have been too closely and too lately canvassed to require discussion here, and I shall confine myself to a few observations on their more prominent features.

In the first place, it is a melancholy condition to which to have reduced a country by misgovernment, that it should be divided into two parties, each hating and fearing the other; the one being unduly elevated, the other unduly depressed; so that if an offence, whether real or fancied, be committed by the oppressed against the oppressor, there is no hope of justice, if brought to issue before the party offended. Such has been the case with Mr. O'Connell; he offended against the ruling powers and their pet faction, and the ruling powers arraigned him for that very offence, before that very faction!

When, some four hundred years past, the heroine of France, and, in a great measure, the emancipator of her country from a foreign domination, Joan of Arc, fell, through the chances of war, into the hands of her enemies, they arraigned her, not as a prisoner of war, or for any distinct and palpable offence against the laws, but for the mysterious

crime of witchcraft,—that is, for “a diabolical conspiracy”—a conspiracy with Satan against themselves, depending for its proof on the capricious interpretation of her accusers.

As their object was conviction, rather than a calm, judicial investigation of the charge, they began by selecting judges of their own—men of their own party, actually smarting under the shame of having been foiled and discomfited by a woman, and that woman the defendant in the trial: when one of them, more virtuous than the rest, openly protested against such a flagrant violation of every principle of justice. “Neither the bishop of Beauvais” (said Nicolas de Houppesville, and his name deserves to be recorded) “nor any of those entrusted with the prosecution, can in conscience undertake it; they belong to the party opposed to the prisoner, and they cannot be judges in their own cause.” But party and interest were too strong for justice; and to the eternal disgrace of her accusers, a high-minded, innocent woman, the wonder of her age, (an individual, indeed, standing alone in history), fell a victim to the low and servile passions of her enemies, for no other crime than having but too successfully combated against them in the cause of her country. The justice, however, which was denied her when alive, was rendered to her memory after death, by a cool, impartial examination of her case, in a manner reflecting honour on all who were concerned in it, and the accuracy and

propriety of which was never questioned even by her enemies. The sentence against her was declared null and void, *because every principle of justice had been violated to obtain it.*—And so it is with the verdict against Mr. O'Connell. That also is, even now, reversed in the opinion of every unprejudiced mind; for you have tried him with as much of heat and passion as though his offence had been solely against the party which sat in judgment upon him, not against the majesty of the laws, or the interests of the people, or to the detriment of the commonwealth. It was conviction, and not justice, that you sought; a verdict in your favour was what you demanded, and every principle of justice was violated to obtain it.

It was only in 1843 that Mr. O'Connell had thus expressed himself: "It is quite true that at the present day judges are not bribed with '*four shillings in the pound*,' to be paid out of the property in dispute: but may not prejudice and bigotry produce unjust judgments, as well as pecuniary corruption? And, are those persons free from reproach, or from guilt, who are ready to select for the bench of justice, men whose sole distinguishing characteristic has been the exhibition of their animosity to the religion and to the people of Ireland?"—And in the very first month of '44 you verify the statement in his own person. What last year you denounced as a libel, the beginning of this year has established as an historical truth. You sifted out of the array not only all whom you knew to be

hostile to you, but those also whom you presumed to be impartial to the defendant, in the hope that those only would remain who were of your own party; and to render this task the easier, you rejected the rights of many whom chance might have thrown into your panel, and proved a bar to your scheme. Had but one more Catholic, or one liberal Protestant, been drafted from the dropped list on to the array of 48, your machinations had come to nought. Not that a Catholic, or a liberal Protestant, would have been less observant of his oath to do his duty to his Sovereign, and good service to his country, than another; but he would have weighed right and justice also in the scale; he would have estimated the wrongs of Ireland—which had no weight with those who were inflicting them—together with the benefits conferred upon his country by the accused, and these would have kicked the beam, and have thrown constructive conspiracy into the same condemned category as constructive treason. The conspirators had neither violated any known law, nor offended against any ostensible statute,—they did every thing openly, nothing in secret—their avowed intentions were, to maintain themselves within the prescribed limits of constitutional rights; these intentions they had been proclaiming to the world during the whole tenor of their career, and under the tacit admission of the Government that their conduct was in unison with their declarations, they went steadily and un-

suspectingly along in the same course, till the toils of the enemy were laid, and all due preparation made for striking at the game. The offence depended on the construction of the courts, and that construction rested with a judge who was the known partizan of the prosecutors, while the jury were expected to take it from the judge. To bring this calculation to bear, they who professed to be purging the panel of all whom prejudice, passion, or interest, might influence, were, to their own knowledge, forming the array of no other elements! When the parliament of Richard the Second required that "all those employed in the administration of the laws should be sworn before them to the due discharge of their duties," the object was, as they expressed it, "so that every person thenceforth should *feel* that right and reason were done him."* But did any one of the traversers feel that right and reason were even likely to be done him by that panel, and by that court? Did they not *feel* it to be precisely the reverse? This is the more to be lamented when we remember the *impartial* though vigorous administration of justice under Lord Normanby, and which had altogether altered the character of the law in the opinions of the people. If a Repealer be not to be trusted to try a Repealer, upon what principle is it that a professed anti-Repealer is better suited to the purpose? And yet

* Rob. P. 1, Ric. II. 14.

all this is done in the sacred name of justice, to vindicate the character of the tribunals of the country, and to give peace to Ireland, by crushing all further efforts under the moral weight of authority! Why! there was not one individual concerned in the transaction, beginning with the Lord Lieutenant who issued the proclamation, the Government that ordered the prosecution, the law officers of the crown who conducted it, the judge who directed, and the jury that returned the verdict, who was not a partizan against the defendants.*

* Beyond the ordinary prejudices which we must presume to have attached these personages to the party with which they have always acted, the following circumstances give far greater reason to suspect the presence of those feelings by which they *may* have been swayed in their public capacity,—if they do not exclude all hope of impartiality, however desirous they might be to exercise it,—in the management of an attack levelled against their political opponents. The Lord-Lieutenant was known to have conveyed his “warm acknowledgments” to the Protestant Operative Association of Dublin in return for an address made to him immediately after the proclamation against the Clontarf meeting, and which address contained the most foul accusations and the most insulting calumnies against Catholics and their religion, and concluded by a declaration that what Ireland wanted were laws for *the total abolition of Popery!* If “the warm acknowledgements,”—it was argued,—referred solely to that portion of the address which was complimentary to the Lord-Lieutenant himself, why so marked a silence on the other and more important por-

One and all were leagued together, and bound to the party opposed to *him* who was presumed to be the great delinquent; they were his aliens in every feeling, aliens in political principle, aliens in religion—influenced against him upon every question with which the passions and the prejudices of mankind are the most closely interwoven. The solitary stranger, whom chance or distress had driven to

tions of it? Was it not as much as to say, upon the well-known principle that silence gives consent, "I would thank you also for the rest, if I dared to do so?" For how could it be presumed that he feared to rebuke them for their insolent intolerance, and their atrocious calumnies against the religion of the people amongst whom he came to dispense justice in the name of his Sovereign, had he really believed them to be such, or had he not been a willing associate and abettor of the party to which such sentiments were a cherished inheritance?

The Attorney-General for Ireland was also a marked man. He was known to have thus expressed himself at a public meeting at the Mansion House, on the 24th of January, 1837:—"I am sorry that circumstances have arisen which induced us to believe that Catholics have very little regard for the sanctity of that oath"—meaning the oath which O'Connell and the other Catholic members had taken on entering the House of Commons. From that day to the present, this recorded opinion of the Attorney-General has never been contradicted or withdrawn.

The Judge, if we are truly informed, is only distinguished by having signed every anti-Catholic petition which came in his way,—by "the exhibition of his animosity to the religion, and (consequently) to the people of Ireland."

our shores, would have been better treated; he would have been protected against the prejudices of the foreigner, and favoured by the partialities of his own countrymen, by a jury selected from both. Not so Mr. O'Connell: the whole array was to be *against* him. The inference is proved by the result; for though every province of the three kingdoms, every corner of the earth to which the fame of the Liberator, and the wrongs of Ireland (and where is it they have not been heard and found their echo?) and the history of this trial has been carried, are crying shame at the iniquity of the whole proceeding, not one of those twelve, whom the devoted servants of the *Government* (it is a misnomer to call them the law officers of the Crown, for they depend upon the Government) contrived to pack into their box, seems to have hesitated for a second in convicting the defendant upon judge law alone, interpreted by their own prejudices and passions. And yet the Government most solemnly assure us that their only aim was fair play, guided by that "spirit of strict justice and impartiality" so emphatically promised by Her Majesty at the close of the last session.

By these means, and under these influences, you have convicted him. You have convicted him of bringing the institutions of the country into contempt, and of conspiring to alter the laws and constitutions of the realm by intimidation. You first drive him into these courses in the cause of right,

and then, by a new act of injustice, you punish him for what you have provoked, and even necessitated. And consider, when you convict *him*, whether you yourselves have not stood convicted before large majorities of the late House of Commons, before a considerable minority in the Lords—and whether you do not still stand convicted before two-thirds of the population of the whole empire, of conspiring against the liberties of Ireland, and the constitutional rights of her people? Is it not rather unjust government, than resistance to it, that constitutes the crime? Mr. O'Connell's offence was resistance—legal and constitutional resistance—to your injustice: and of this have you convicted him, before judges of your own choice. He fenced his resistance around with all the recognized forms, and consecrated principles, of the constitution,—principles which ought never to be forgotten by our rulers, and seldom remembered by the people, but which peculiarly belong to emergencies like the present,—yet him do you treat as a malefactor; and Ireland, in whose behalf the experiment was made, is spurned from your presence, for you have entered a solemn protest against the due consideration of her case.

Again: after having appointed men of strong political and religious bias, to administer all the higher functions of the law; after filling Ireland with bickering, animosity, and contention; after driving half the Catholic magistracy from the bench,

and now excluding Catholics from the jury-box; you accuse and convict Mr. O'Connell of conspiring to bring the law into disrepute, because he had established courts to which the people might bring their differences, to be adjudicated before arbitrators who were of the same religion as themselves, and whom they knew to be free from prejudice against them. And this, also, have you done in the sacred name of justice!

Of much more of the same sort have you accused him, and of somewhat more have you convicted him: but all with an equal disregard of justice and propriety:—and, while this is being dinned into your ears from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, you lift up your hands in astonishment that any sympathy should be shewn for a conspirator so convicted, or that the disgrace which you had endeavoured to fix upon him, should only have invested him with honour, throwing his faults into the shade, and adding a brighter lustre to his merits. Those who sympathize with Mr. O'Connell upon this occasion, are no more identified thereby with “the Liberator’s” opinions upon other party or political questions, than he himself is compromised in those opinions by voting with the Whigs, or than Sir Robert Peel is answerable for the former sentiments of Sir James Graham, or bound by Lord Stanley’s registration bill, because both are now partners with him in the Government.

And, now that you have sat in judgment on your

enemy, and condemned him, how far have you advanced towards the pacification of Ireland? If you imprison him, you will only make him a martyr as well as a confessor, and rouse the indignation of the people to a still livelier sense of your injustice, while you rivet him the more closely to their affections. You have checked the monster meetings, which had become necessary to tell you of their monster grievances, for loudly as they had spoken before, you still withheld redress, because you denied its necessity. Your chief object attained, if you punish now, it will be the vindictiveness of revenge,—not the only legitimate object of punishment, the prevention of crime. At *his* age and with *his* habits, you will be held to inflict the penalties of treason upon a verdict for a misdemeanor—you will demand his life, when the law only condemns him to imprisonment.

Again, how far will you advance towards the pacification of Ireland, or redeem yourselves from “the difficulty” of governing her, by putting forth your determination to maintain the English Church in that country in all its monstrous inequality—precisely in proportion as you are assailed with petitions and remonstrances to limit it to its just necessities? The excuse is, that as you curtail the Church, you trench upon *the principles of the Reformation*.* But they who put forth this plea are falling back

* See the late debate on the presentation of a petition by Earl Fitzwilliam, for the curtailment of the Irish Church.

upon times when all the world were in a singular state of ignorance on the true principles of religious toleration and civil government. William the Third declared that "for all the crowns in Europe he would not consent to the repeal of laws (the Penal Statutes) which he thought necessary for the support of the Protestant religion; and that laws which merely fixed the qualifications for office could not be taxed with injustice, nor could that man be said to persecute, who did not seek to *punish* the religious belief of one party, *but only to preserve the religious establishments of the other.*"* Was this truth or sophistry? wisdom or folly? Or is it worthy of imitation now? The Penal Statutes of the present day are the Irish Church, and the whole system of vicious legislation dependent on it.—And fear you not to libel the Reformation when you thus charge it with all the ills of Ireland? or is it not a charge too heavy for it any longer to bear? The Reformation came to bless, and it has but planted a curse upon the land. Are such the principles of the Reformation? She went forth to carry "the glad tidings" to a people groaning under the yoke of a spiritual bondage; she went, backed by the sword and the law, by all the powers of earth and hell,—for I will not believe that persecution comes from heaven,—to spread the true light of the Gospel over a benighted re-

* Lingard.

gion. And how has she fulfilled her mission? At the end of three hundred years, the remnant of that people—whom she came to save, but whom she had well nigh destroyed—which had escaped the ruthless invader that accompanied her on her path, are now become the very people of the land, outnumbering her own followers by nearly eight to one, and leaving her to reign in solitude over the booty she has acquired, without either communion, connexion, or sympathy with those whom she has so ruefully despoiled, but in whose cause she pretends to hold it.* And yet she is as eager to retain it,

* While Catholicity has gained thus prodigiously upon Protestantism in Ireland, she has, at the same time, been able to send yearly swarms across the Atlantic to people the new world with the old religion, and to fill your colonies with Catholics, and whom you treat much better than those who remain behind. Ancient historians relate that no less than three thousand ecclesiastics were assembled at the great council of Kells, in 1152; but in 1665, so successful had persecution been, that only three aged and infirm bishops, and a proportionate number of clergy, were to be found in the whole island, though very shortly afterwards they returned from banishment to the number of about two thousand, but were speedily reduced again; for persecution had resumed her work; and in 1731 they were returned, in a report laid before the lords, at 1445. In 1728, out of a population of 1,700,000 souls, 700,000 were Protestants, but in 1734 the return to the Irish House of Lords gave the Catholics as *two to one* to the Protestants. A century later, in spite of all "discouragement" to the

as if she were rendering good service for it. And are these the principles of the Reformation? who is bold enough to assert it? I should have thought it a far better principle to restore ill-gotten wealth, which never thrives, and, for all interest due, to give peace to the people.

But the days of peace, and of wisdom, and of justice, are not yet come; and, to our shame and grief, we have still to ask, How long are we to be “a reproach and a proverb” among the nations? How long is the pious but unpractised stranger, who comes amongst us from afar, to exclaim, in the fulness of his astonishment, “I have found a land of closed churches and hushed bells, of unlighted altars and unstoled priests. Is England under an interdict?”* And passing onwards to that isle of saints, as he had ever been accustomed to image it to his mind,—and which has identified

former by the almost continual and active operation of the penal laws, and of encouragement to the latter, not only through their own enormous monopoly in church and state, but by various little appliances (such as the Charter schools, the Kildare Street Society, and the Foundling Hospital), the Catholics had advanced upon the Protestants, till, they were nearly seven to one, (giving the Protestants the benefit of all who were not Catholics); and till they could again have furnished three thousand ecclesiastics, if need were, to form ^{another} national synod ^{like that of Italy,}—and yet these are the people whom you still hope to protestantize by virtue of the principles of the reformation!

* Faber's *Foreign Churches*.

the history of Ireland with the history of Christianity, in every portion of the world,—how do not sorrow and amazement rend his soul, as the glories of the ancient times flit before his eyes ! and he exclaims again, “How art thou fallen, thou pride of Christendom ! Thy schools deserted, thy seats of piety ruined and profaned, thy “holy places” all invaded by the spoiler, and defiled ; thy people only remaining to thee, and these neglected and despised, worn down with misery and affliction ! Is it possible all this can be, and this a province of England, whose wisdom and honour, and power and greatness, and humanity and justice, I have heard extolled so loudly ? Though she hath outlawed faith from her own homes, stripped her altars, and turned her temples into conventicles, still hath she a worldly craft about her which decks her with a pleasing show of all that is agreeable to the eye of the statesman ; and which more than compensates in the calculations of the political philosopher for all that she has suffered in the feelings of a Christian. But Ireland has been despoiled of all, save the faith and virtue of her people,—these indeed have come pure through the crucible ; but ‘they have changed the delightful land into a wilderness...her sanctuary hath become desolate...her festival days are turned into mourning, her sabbaths into reproach, her honours are brought to nothing :’ nor is there one cheering ray of brightness in the landscape,—all is gloom and wretchedness. Hath the Almighty come and stricken

her with anathema? Is it possible she is under the same sovereignty, governed by the same laws, blest by the same immunities? Is Ireland under the dominion of England? Are these the principles of the Reformation?"

Such would be the reflections of a stranger who had only studied the world in his closet, and studied it through midæval lore, apart from the intrusion of these latter times. With the work of devastation before him, well, indeed, might he exclaim, "Are these the principles of the Reformation?" and turn from it with unbelief.*

* At the dissolution, it is computed there were no less than eight hundred monasteries and chantries in Ireland. The blessings they conferred upon the country, even in a social point of view, more especially in troublesome or semibarbarous times, may be readily imagined from the true and touching picture of the Monastery of Cluny, (and it is equally applicable to the monastic establishments of other countries) so lately drawn by the master hands of the Society of Littlemore, in their edifying and interesting life of St. Stephen Abbot.

"It was a vast kingdom," say they, "where Christ reigned, where his Saints rested in peace, and which raised an image of peace in a world of strife and bloodshed. Happy were the vassals transferred from a secular lord, to the rule of the Abbot of Cluny; instead of being robbed and harried two or three times a year, by exactions over and above their rent, and bought and sold like the cattle on the estate, they were treated as brethren and sisters. A castle given to the Cluniacs, instead of a den of thieves, became

Away then with the plea that the principles of the Reformation require the maintenance of the

an oratory. If the brethren sold the produce of the estates at a distance from the abbey, their dealings were marked with a fairness and a generosity, which showed that they trafficked not for gain, but for their own support, and to feed the poor." In better times, the neighbouring proprietors could not but have partaken more or less of the character of these ecclesiastical landlords, and for very shame, if not from principle, from interest, if not through honour, they must needs have imitated, though perhaps at an humble distance, the paternal rule of the cloister. The law of landlord and tenant, as it exists in Ireland, was then unknown; *that* is the proper growth of the reformation and its principles, not an inheritance from the *dark ages* of monasticism. How strange are the vicissitudes of sublunary things! and how singularly do the new principles overlay the old! the bishop's lands, which used to be among the best, are now proverbially the worst cultivated in Ireland.

Take also the general condition of the labouring population, constituting a large majority of the community, and see in what aspect it appears under the fostering shades of the religion which established itself on the ruins of the monasteries;—not at a period when it might be asserted, however falsely, that the influence of the ancient institutions still remained—but during those enlightened decades of pure protestantism, running between 1793 and 1843, (the date of the promulgation of the report which furnishes us with the evidence);—and the principles of the reformation, I think, will gain but as little glory from the contrast. For the report tells us, that the whole misery and destitution which prevails so extensively amongst a most nume-

English Church in Ireland in all her monstrous inequalities. No, if you wish to save her, and save the credit of your principles too, you cannot too quickly displace her from the false position to

rous class of cottiers overspreading, more particularly, the western and south-western counties,—not the class who have no interest or resource in the land, but labourers occupying small patches of ground—is to be traced to the vicious legislation of an exclusively Protestant legislature: for the laws which produced the evil were enacted between '93 and '29:—and “that whilst a visible and steady progress in improvement, and signs of increasing wealth, present themselves on all sides” . . . these unfortunate vassals of the lay proprietors, unlike those of the monasteries, “derive no proportionate benefit from the growing prosperity around them,” but on the contrary, for “in many places their condition is even worse than it has been.” Singular enough, however, since that report was penned, a marked, social, moral, and physical improvement has taken place generally amongst the poor of Ireland, through the truly apostolic labours of a poor simple clerk, a lowly member of one of those much-reviled monastic institutes—almost a solitary survivor of the deluge which overwhelmed them. He, indeed, has put to shame the constitutional legislatures of the world, and has proved himself a far greater benefactor, and a more effective lawgiver to Ireland than “the collective wisdom” of the whole empire, and the whole array of the paid servants of the public; and yet he is one whom the legislature has placed under its ban as unworthy to be recognized in his true character—an humble disciple of the humble St. Francis! *He*, as far as the untoward circumstances under which his mission was accomplished,

which you have raised her, and make her cease to be a stumbling-block in the ways of peace, and a hindrance to the healing of the wounds you have inflicted in her name and on her behalf. Though Ireland is essentially Catholic, and though you have proclaimed "equality of civil rights," your equality is nominal, and your exclusion practical, and you have contrived, by the wretched course of your policy, to Protestantize her government through every ramification. You have an exclusively Protestant machinery to work out your views towards a Catholic people,—a Protestant sherriffry, a Protestant magistracy, a Protestant yeomanry, all to prop your Protestant Church. Your war against the Repeal agitation has drafted off all the admixture of Catholicity which the late administration had, in a spirit of justice and fair play, freely and honourably admitted into the local executive: all has now disappeared before the withering power of the monopolizers, and even Catholic delinquents are to have no other than a Protestant panel to dole out to them the tender mercies of a hostile government. And thus it is that you are again carrying out the principles of the Reformation!

has improved the condition of the great masses of the community, and has so altered their very nature, that, rely upon it, you would find them of a far different calibre to contend with, if it should ever be your policy again to drive them into civil conflict with you.

Till you can make up your minds to govern Ireland as a Catholic country, though the act of Union remain among your statutes, it will have no other effect than to chain her to your side as a troublesome, because an unwilling associate; if you succeed in arresting agitation in its present stage, you will not smother discontent with it; you will be only shutting up the safety-valve, and repressing the excitement for some more dangerous explosion. But give generously and you will be rewarded largely: give them their fair share of popular representation, both by lowering and extending the franchise, and increasing the number of their members; invest them with the same municipal privileges as yourselves; purge the tribunals of the law—which ought to be the tribunals of justice—of all the leaven that infests them; perfect the work of education you have begun: if you cannot relieve them from the pressure of their own Church—and which they do not ask,—remove at least the weight of one foreign to their feelings, and useless to their wants: assist them in the erection of places of public worship; aid them in all the efforts they are making to raise themselves above the level of the imperfect civilization to which your neglect and oppression has condemned them; recall her absentees, by making Ireland a country fit to live in; rescue her people from the fangs of a cruel landlord who takes advantage of their destitution to feed his avarice; let their brawny arms be no longer doomed

to idleness, let their deserts teem with corn, the sea yield its tribute to their enterprise, and the mine its wealth; let the steam-engine roll through their dreary wastes, and exchange their surplus produce for the surplus manufactures of England, and both countries will bless a Union which, after forty-four years of strife and sorrow, is at length turned to the advantage of each. In all this, I recommend little that has not been recommended to you over and over again by your own Commissioners of Inquiry. Indeed your own reports rise up in judgment against you at every turn, more particularly the two recent ones of the Commissioners of Railways, which present the most lively picture of the privations of the people, of their singularly happy dispositions, and of the means by which their lot could speedily be cast, as it were, in a new mould, if the Government had but the courage and virtue to undertake the task. But year after year, you not only delay the remedy, but actually sit listlessly by, contemplating with a passive quiescence the aggravation of the evil, and even add a fresh pang to their afflictions by tantalizing them with hopes which you raise to no other purpose than to see them crushed again.*—Above all,

* I cannot refrain from again laying before the public the concluding observations of the second of these reports, conceived in a wise, noble, and generous spirit which mournfully contrasts with the apathy of those to whom they are addressed.

“The moral effect upon a people of a system of steady

remember that the religion of Ireland is the poor man's friend; he sees it, with pride and joy, illu-

and remunerative employment is an object of public importance, not inferior to its influence upon their physical condition; for it is invariably found that where industry prevails, order and respect for the laws accompany it. Ireland forms no exception to this rule. The vice and the bane of its people is idleness. They have little to do; no useful or profitable occupation to devote their time and thoughts to; and hence those habits of intemperance, and that proneness to outrage and contention, which unhappily distinguish them. But those amongst them who have been for any considerable time engaged in pursuits which afford encouragement to industry, rarely trouble themselves about angry local differences, or frequent the resorts of low profligacy, and dissipation. The hand of the thrifty and diligent is not often raised in fierce and clamorous dispute, or seen amid scenes of sectarian strife and rancour. These are vices which proceed from idleness and the habits engendered by it; nor can there be any reasonable ground to doubt, that they would speedily disappear before the civilizing power of occupation and successful industry.

“To afford the means of present employment to such a people, and at the same time lay the foundation of their future prosperity and improvement, is surely an object worthy of a wise and great nation, and will not be opposed from any narrow and short-sighted views of economy. The interests of these countries are so inseparably interwoven, that nothing which concerns one part of the United Kingdom can be alien from the rest. But it is the direct interest of Great Britain that Ireland should be raised, and that as speedily as possible, from its present condition. Mr. Stanley (see Appendix B, No. 14) shows, by a very mo-

minating the page of the early and only happy period of the history of his country, before English domina-

derate calculation, that if the Irish peasantry were placed, in point of comfort, on a par with those of Great Britain, the result to the public revenue would be an annual increase of six millions in the article of Excise. This consideration alone ought to silence any objections, on the ground of expense, against affording public aid, such as may be required for these works; for it gives assurance of an enormous profit on the greatest contemplated outlay.

“On prudential considerations alone, then, we should not hesitate to recommend an immediate and liberal attention to the claims of Ireland for assistance, which cannot be conferred in any shape more likely to prove beneficial than by encouraging public works, of extensive and permanent utility. It is a waste of the public available resources, to suffer so large a portion of the empire to lie fallow, or leave it to struggle, by slow advances and with defective means, towards its own improvement, when the judicious aid of the state might quickly make it a source of common strength and advantage.

“The policy of rendering such assistance is unquestionable. It is acknowledged to be necessary towards a colony, and must be considered more so in the case of a part of the United Kingdom, comprehended within its domestic boundaries, where neither the land nor the population can continue to be useless without being hurtful at the same time, and nearly in the same degree. Looking, therefore, at the proposition as a mere account or estimate of profit and loss, the balance is clearly in favour of a prompt and liberal encouragement, on the part of the Legislature, to whatsoever tends manifestly to call into action the great powers and capabilities of this fine country. In every in-

tion was known in Ireland: it was still as dear to him in its hour of sadness, for he knew that it was destined to persecution for justice-sake, and he felt

stance where such encouragement has been afforded, even in the construction of a common road, the returns to the state in improved revenue have hitherto more than repaid the public outlay; and, viewed in this light, public assistance, well directed and applied with judgment and economy, is in effect a beneficial expenditure of capital, similar in kind to that which a provident landlord makes for the improvement of his estate. The only measure of both should be the assurance of an adequate remuneration.

"It were easy to show, from the actual state of Ireland, that the moral results which may reasonably be expected to flow from an improvement of its social condition, should suffice, even on the low ground of concomitant financial advantages, to fix the attention of the Legislature to this subject. We need but refer to the burdensome and costly establishments of Soldiery and Police, which are necessarily maintained for the preservation of peace and order, and which, in a really wholesome state of society, might be greatly reduced.

"But there are other considerations equally importing the general welfare, and which it is more pleasing to dwell upon, as being more worthy of a great and enlightened nation—considerations of justice, of generosity—of a liberal concern for the improvement and civilization of our countrymen. In attending to such considerations, no nation was ever faithless or blind to its own best and dearest interests; and were there no commercial advantages for England in the projects which we submit for adoption, nor any promise of actual benefit to the public treasury, or of relief from the heavy contributions which the unsettled

that it was honoured by being "counted worthy to suffer shame" with its Divine Founder: then, as now, it bore his infirmities and carried his sorrows; for it is even yet the only consolation which he knows in his long life of misery and desolation, since the only being who crosses his threshold with the notes of peace and comfort is the Minister of his religion:—honour him then for his perseverance, if you will not for his faith; for you have tried all you could, but tried in vain, to root him out from the land. It is time that his existence should be known and recognized by the state, and that another very mischievous grievance, of which he has just cause to complain, should be removed. The ecclesiastical law of the Catholic Church in Ireland having no sanction in the law of the land,—but being, on the contrary, purposely repudiated by it,—the bishops are without legal means of enforcing discipline amongst their clergy, while these are without defence from arbitrary misrule. You send them to Rome for the settle-

state of society in Ireland annually extracts from it, yet the certainty of rendering this country prosperous, and diffusing the blessings of peace and industry, with their attendant fruits of knowledge and moral culture amongst its people, ought, as we have no doubt it would, be considered an ample recompense." Is it possible that this report is dated the 13th July '38, and that, verging as we are on May '44, it is still a dead letter; or perhaps already consigned to the blind oblivion in which all its predecessors have so peaceably reposed?

ment of their disputes, and whilst there, deny them the protection afforded to the clergy of every other Catholic community in Christendom, by the government which rules over it.*

* The following observations are too pertinent to the occasion not to be taken advantage of:—"Here it is that perhaps the most extraordinary feature upon the mixed face of Irish affairs challenges our attention. The constitution promotes religion, and for that sacred purpose gives to this vast number of Roman Catholics £8,928 a year towards the education of their priests; £35,630 a year towards the maintenance of Presbyterian ministers; and an actual revenue in gross receipts of £806,784 for the support of the Protestant clergy!

"We have marked out the extent of pauperism in Ireland: it fills the heart with grief and horror, and is not to be matched in all the countries of Europe; but it is far exceeded in its enormity by the state of religion. That overwhelms the reasoning faculties with astonishment, and is not to be paralleled in the annals of the whole world. In every other nation, civilized or barbarous,—in every age, whether ancient or modern,—one universal rule has prevailed, by the common consent of all mankind, from the dawn of the first sun down to the present day, in favour of a suitable provision, and an honourable rank in society, for the religious order of the majority of the people. The sum of this provision, moreover, and the dignity of this rank, have generally risen higher the more the community has become prosperous and refined. In Ireland only this most primitive and influential of the elements of social peace and charity between man and man is contravened. There only the government neither gives money nor distinction,

The precarious tenure upon which real property is held by the Catholic Church in Ireland is also another

nor evinces consideration nor sympathy for the hierarchy and priesthood of the majority of the people. If it were the duty of a statesman to provide by special arrangement that discontent and turbulence should constantly abound in a country, no surer means could be adopted for producing so calamitous a result than the course of action pursued in Ireland upon the vital subject of religion. Touch to the quick, and the whole frame quivers. We treat a warm and sensitive people, on one of the keenest points of human feeling, as no race of men has been treated since the creation of mankind; and then we affect to wonder that they are not happy, grateful, and resigned! True, the subject matter here is religion, and that is a question of conscience; but the statesman must deal with it as a question of politics; and to him it ought to be unnecessary to observe that it is utterly vain to dream of standing out against human nature. The history of mankind, in its most primitive, as well as in its most polished forms, and the experience of all governments, lead us to no conviction stronger, or more conclusive, than that it is impossible to secure the peace of any society without gratifying the religious bias of the multitude by whom it is composed. Any attempt to resist the impulse which demands this satisfaction is as wild as the effort to stop a torrent in its course. If it could have been arrested or diverted, the English government would have long ago done one or other in Ireland. They have repeatedly tried, and invariably failed. It remains at last to supply proper channels for the waters of a tide which, as they take their rise from a natural spring, can neither be kept down, drawn off, nor exhausted by forcible

grievance, but to this, if I understand it rightly, you are inclined to afford a remedy. Do as much for

means."—*Smyth's Ireland, Historical and Statistical, Part 1.*

While Catholic Austria, if I recollect truly, is employed in founding a Protestant university for her Protestant subjects upon a princely scale, our Government students at Maynooth are denied even the stinted fare of a union workhouse; for, for the inmates of a workhouse there is food every day in the year, while the young Catholic ecclesiastic, who has the singular honour of being adopted by the state, and who in that capacity is fed upon the public bounty of this great Protestant country—as it is so triumphantly styled—is sometimes compelled to absent himself for months together that he may have whereof to eat during the remainder of the season. The contrast is for ever running in one's mind—£8000 a year for the emancipated Irish Catholic, at which many grumble (and this is positively all that is separately doled out to him), and £800,000 a year (the interest on the twenty millions), of which none complain, for the emancipated black. And yet how often do we hear the establishment at Maynooth put forth as a boasted specimen of the liberality of Government towards its Catholic subjects; and the proof that it is so considered, is to be found in the resolution (if report speak truth), come to through the process of long and mature reflection, that even this grievance is to remain undressed; and which is the more to be lamented, because, of all the minor concessions, this would have been the more generally beneficial and satisfactory. But the *principles of the Reformation* are to be carried out in their integrity! It is not, certainly, that you are deficient in generosity or

the rest; limit not your good will to Ireland to empty professions, but testify your sincerity by your deeds, and you will soon rescue a fallen people from an almost unparalleled state of social and physical degradation, and convert them into peaceable and industrious citizens—into grateful and attached subjects.—The experiment is worth the trial, even on your own behoof. If you fear the possible consequences of a foreign war, conciliate Ireland—if you fear Chartism, or the League, or the progress of democratic principles, conciliate Ireland—if you fear the elements of strife and discord which are to be seen and heard on every side, conciliate Ireland—if you fear the natural results of civil dissension, and of a divided empire, unite it before it is too late

humanity, but that, when Catholics are concerned, your prejudices are greater than either.

The additional grant for education is, no doubt, intended as a boon, and so it is as far as it goes; but does it not occur to those who grant it, that something more is wanted by the starving child than food for the mind?

Amongst the many minor grievances of the Irish Catholic, there is one which stands pre-eminent—the refusal of the Government to provide regimental chaplains for the Irish troops sent upon service to India, and where they are exposed to perish by the thousand, both in the field and in the hospital, without the consolations of religion, and the rites of the Church. Is it that you think religion makes a man a coward?

to avert them*—and then you will hear no more of monster meetings for the redress of monster grievances:—but if you fear not these things, and are blind and heedless to the dangers which menace you, you have neither wisdom nor understanding.†

* There are those even who appear to contemplate a civil war with complacency; there are those who think it would be popular in England; and all of you seem to consider the victory as already yours: but, depend upon it, if you *force* Ireland into civil conflict—and you can have it by no other means—it will ruin England, and bring destruction on the heads of those who have provoked it.

“When a people are bold enough to throw off oppression, strong enough to resist it, and wise enough to be unanimous, they must succeed. Oppression, though clothed in all the haughtiness of arbitrary power, is ever accompanied by the timidity of guilt; on the contrary, a just resistance to tyranny (and tyranny may be exercised under the *forms* of the constitution), however feeble in its commencement, acquires strength in its progress,—the stimulants of rising liberty, like the paroxysms of a fever, often communicating a supernatural strength to a debilitated body.”—*Barrington's Hist. Memoirs of Ireland.*

† A great deal of useless controversy has been, and still is carried on—for it is altogether wide of the real question, and serves only to puzzle and distract the mind from it—as to the relative condition of Ireland before and since the Union. The *real*, substantial question with which we have to deal is, not whether Ireland *ever* has enjoyed a good Government (for it is too clear that she has not, at least for the last six or seven hundred years) but whether she

Alas ! how little of what is good can we expect to realize ! When we look to the past we have not much reason to hope for the future : for if we have not already seen our own danger and our own injustice, we must indeed be delivered over to a judicial blindness, from which we are not likely to be roused by any ordinary means. Nor am I weak enough to imagine that any exhortation of mine can break the spell. Advice is lost upon an unwilling ear, and I expect to leave no deeper impression than that of a passing dream. But I write, that I may have the consolation of saying within myself, *Liberavi animam meam*. As I love justice and hate iniquity, so will I not subject myself to the reproach of silence when it may be a duty to speak, though the speaking be a mere protest against the folly and injustice of those whom we have no expectation to control.

enjoys it now. And in putting this second question, it is as speedily and peremptorily disposed of as the first, for the united testimony of mankind tells us that SHE DOES NOT : and we may safely defy all the world to shew that she has any one of the attributes or indications of good Government about her. This being the case, our business is not with "Whether she has had it in times past?" but "How she is to have it for the time to come?"

April, 1844.

POSTSCRIPT.

SOME unknown friends have lately favoured me with various extracts from the public prints, accusing me of singular inconsistency in having written, in '41, against Repeal, and the principles with which the agitation of that question was mixed up, and yet in '44, appearing as a sympathizer with Ireland and O'Connell. As to any other observations, I am indifferent to them, and shall not trouble myself to notice them, presuming them to be intended as illustrations of the principles of the Reformation, with which, thank heaven, I have no immediate concern. But as to the inconsistency with which I am charged, I think I should have been very inconsistent had I acted otherwise. I have ever advocated the cause of Ireland; I eulogized Mr. O'Connell, as the emancipator of his country in '29, though that emancipation was achieved at the cost of much agitation, and at the risk of much mischief; but it was *an extreme case*. When by degrees the various grievances under which Ireland laboured were materially alleviated, or wholly removed, the case was no longer one which, in my opinion, belonged to the same class. I thought that what remained to be done, might be much better done

than by agitation for Repeal, and by the promulgation of democratic principles; and therefore did I protest against them. But I *now* find, that what remained to be done, has not been done, nor can be done, without Mr. O'Connell and agitation; because the opposing party have again gained the ascendancy, and must be again forced, not argued from it. Nor do the people of Ireland need any stronger plea, or greater encouragement for the purpose, than the *Catholic Disfranchisement Bill*, so lately presented to Parliament,—though strangled, as it would seem, even in its birth, as a very monster—filching the franchise from the Catholic people, and giving it to the Protestant landlord,—and this, too, in redemption of the pledge so graciously pronounced by her Majesty at the opening of the session, that measures should be introduced for *the extension* of the county franchise in Ireland!

I see, also, that evils, which appeared comparatively light at first, have augmented precisely in proportion with the length of time during which they have remained unredressed: while every hope has also vanished of those other pledges being redeemed, in which ministers, on behalf of the sovereign, have so often and so solemnly promised her Majesty's cordial cooperation towards the improvement of the social condition of the people, and the development of the natural resources of Ireland: for, in spite of those oft-repeated pledges, her social condition is allowed to fall into greater confusion year after year, and the

vast natural resources of the country to remain as stagnant as ever.

It is really entering into "a conspiracy" to bring monarchy into contempt, and the word of the sovereign to dishonour, to commence and close every session of parliament with the solemn asseveration of "earnest desires" for the accomplishment of objects which they who make them have not the slightest intention of ever proposing. That these "earnest desires" are truly and sincerely felt and appreciated by her Majesty, there can be no more doubt, than that She would also hail with gladness any opportunity of carrying them into execution: yet they ever remain as they were made—illusory and unprofitable. Is not, then, the inconsistency rather in the minister than in those who any longer refuse to confide in so much unmeaning phraseology,—in so many empty professions?

Was it consistent to put forth a declaration that the Government of Ireland "should be administered in a spirit of *strict justice and impartiality*," and yet, within the short space of three months, to commit one of the most flagrant violations of both which is to be found upon record?* Is it not the

* I beg to refer those who accuse me of inconsistency, to my sentiments in '41: "Let us see," I then said, "an instance in which impartial justice shall not be done, in which we have '*an orange-packed jury, an oppressive tyrannical magistrate, a fiery partizan for assistant barrister in the county courts, and malignant enemies to Ireland, ex-*

height of inconsistency in ministers to direct her Majesty to call upon "those of her faithful subjects

*exercising their bigoted sway upon the bench,'—let us see this, and I will abandon all hope of an equitable government for Ireland under a conservative administration. But till this be done, till we see their words belied by their actions, I will rather confide in their professions, than distrust their sincerity; because those professions are supported by reason, policy, and common sense, and are in keeping with the more benign and enlightened spirit of the age. Men are the creatures of circumstances; and why should we select any individuals, or even any class of individuals, as alone insensible to their influences? Should we not rather trust to what we see around us, and rely upon the truth and efficacy of that axiom of one of the most gifted men that ever lived, *tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis!* If we are deceived, we are deceived on the right side, and we put them upon the wrong. It is well to assume an attitude of defence, but is it just or wise to enter into a compact of uncompromising hostility? If the evil is to come we cannot arrest it by provoking it. Is it not better to reserve to ourselves the satisfaction of knowing, that no folly and injustice of ours have merited the treatment we predict, while every future attempt to arrest the scourge, should it fall upon us, would derive both strength and dignity from our past forbearance." . . . "It is preposterous to suppose that Ireland can now be governed on tory principles; *she cannot be so governed, and the government have assured us that she shall not be so governed.* The DIFFICULTY of Ireland must be overcome: but it cannot be overcome by coercion and restriction. They may still cut out the evil at its root, by justice and*

who have influence and authority in Ireland to discourage to the utmost of their power a system of pernicious agitation, which disturbs the industry and retards the improvement of that country, and excites feelings of mutual distrust and animosity between different classes of her people," while they are morally, nay, positively certain that it is their own pernicious influence alone, and that of the faction which governs them, which is the source of all the evil? when they know that a few *real* words of peace from them would still the waves, and that if they *then* threw their bread upon the waters, it would presently return to them in abundance? Is it not inconsistent to hail the day when her most gracious Majesty should descend as the angel of peace amongst her Irish subjects, and yet know that it is they themselves who take away peace from the people—that it is themselves who have only to say the word, and it would be done?

I am no more the enemy of the Established Church now, than I was in '41; *then*, I thought it

conciliation, 'by a kind and paternal executive, by employment and education.' They perhaps might have done so upon easier terms, had their law appointments been of a more winning character, and had not their conduct in the distribution of other offices savoured of a disposition 'to couple practical exclusion with the nominal equality of the Catholics.' It may be no harm that the difficulty has increased upon them, because their measure of good must now be the fuller."

might exist in Ireland in its present state, and yet the peace of the country be preserved; *now*, I believe it to be otherwise. Is there any inconsistency in this?

I am no more a democrat now than I was in '41; and it is because I still fear the influence of democratic principles, that I am the *more* desirous to see the pacification of Ireland accomplished. Do her justice, and Mr. O'Connell ceases to be dangerous; it is your injustice that has made him what he is; but for that, he had been the first barrister of the day, not the leader and representative of seven or eight millions of a discontented people. And no one, I am sure, would more sincerely rejoice than he would, in being dispossessed of that difficult and dangerous post, and more gladly yield his anomalous empire over his long-suffering countrymen to the more legitimate sway of a just and a good government. Not long since, and I also esteemed it very nearly akin to disloyalty to contemplate a Repeal of the Union; but while I judged Mr. O'Connell to be only exciting anger and provoking enmity, I now find that he was but placing the people on their defence before those who were devising evil against them.

I never considered the Union otherwise than as one of the most clumsy performances of a most Machiavelian policy. It was the sequel to a reign of terror, and the unravelling of a deep and wily plot. Some were intimidated into a sullen acquies-

cence; more were beguiled by promises which were never to be realized; but open, licensed, ready-money bribery, and the unconstitutional exercise of the royal prerogative in the most flagitious prostitution of honours, proved the most efficient persuasives, and converted the high-minded, disinterested patriots of '82,—men who had staked “their lives and fortunes” for the legislative independence of their country,—into the most subservient minions of power, and the most ignoble traitors to the cause which had been so solemnly confided to them. There were many honourable associates of those who thus basely bartered away rights which had been only entrusted to their keeping, who, at the time, loudly and justly denied their competency to violate the sacred deposit, still less to surrender it for such mean equivalents; for expediency did not step in to countervail the loss, and sanctify the profligate traffic by the benefits to be conferred in return,—for Ireland has only won affliction, and England “a difficulty,” by the bargain.*

* It is preposterous to suppose that Ireland would not have reformed her Representation at least as soon as England, and that all that equal Legislation could have done for her would not have been done long since, had she retained her domestic Parliament.

To those on whom Mr. M. Martin's work may have left any impression, I would recommend Mr. Staunton's reply to it, as well as some very able articles in the last number of the Dublin Review, and Mr. John O'Connell's *Argu-*

I wish sincerely it had been otherwise, and that what was so fraudulently purchased had been enjoyed with honour and advantage by both the buyer and the seller, and that a happy experience of forty-four years duration had put an end to all pretence for disannulling the compact. But when it has satisfied none, but disappointed all, and been prolific only in animosity and contention, misery and vexation, surely it is not a crime worthy of such high displeasure, that they, who were no parties to the transfer, should demand a restitution of their privileges. It is not always, however, that our judgment is the most true when it is exercised on our own behalf; and I sadly fear that even those would be no gainers by the dissolution of a partnership of which they have ever been such unwilling members; and I still trust that means may be discovered to bless a union, though accomplished by such unhallowed contrivances. Yet in the present desperate condition of things, I find no inconsistency in regarding the demand for Repeal without the reprobation which it formerly excited; and whilst I am not with him on that point, I am no longer *against* him; and I again look upon Mr. O'Connell with pride and pleasure as the liberator of his country from her former bondage, though I still see him

ment for Ireland; though in so doing, I have but little confidence in the efficacy of any argument upon those who have hitherto been insensible to all but agitation.

with sorrow as the representative of her present wrongs, and the victim of her present oppressors. With this the *extreme case* is again made up; Mr. O'Connell's prowess and energy is again requisite to marshal the phalanx and command the forces which are to conquer the enemies of Ireland; and I ardently wish him to succeed in procuring justice for his country, because I ardently desire to see it prosperous and tranquil,—to see the political institutions of the United Kingdom maintained in their integrity, the whole empire freed from the fearful hazards of civil war, and the happy equilibrium of the British constitution equally preserved from the overwhelming influence of an oligarchy on the one hand, or a democracy on the other. Surely it is much wiser to be guided into the good way, as circumstances lead, and to take warning from the signs of the times, than, for fear of being charged with inconsistency, to maintain an obstinate position in a bad one. Is Mr. Sharman Crawford inconsistent or unwise in becoming the friend and associate of Mr. O'Connell in '44,—because in '41 he published animadversions upon his conduct? Was Mr. Smith O'Brien inconsistent or unwise in enrolling himself in the ranks of Repeal in '43,—because in '42 he had hesitated to join them? Is Lord Charlemont inconsistent, because now, in the ardour of his zeal for the welfare of his country, he advocates the holding of periodical parliaments of the United Empire in Dublin—when, *till now*,

such a measure has never been considered expedient by him? Are the Irish prelates inconsistent, because in 1830 they proclaimed the cessation of "a duty imposed upon them by a state of times which had passed," and now resume it because those times have returned? In 1830, they thought "the storm which had almost wrecked the country [as they expressed it] had subsided, whilst social order, with peace and JUSTICE in her train, was *preparing* to establish her sway in their long-distracted country." But in 1844, so far are the happy presages in which they had so fondly indulged from being realized, that all resolutions formed upon their anticipation are rescinded; and they naturally enough fall back upon the state of things which had formerly compelled them "to unite their efforts with those of the laity, in seeking to attain their just rights,"—a state of things which is so aptly described by Lord Charlemont, in his eloquent and feeling address to her Majesty, of the 14th of last month:—

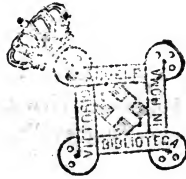
"Your Irish people, instead of forming an united, happy, and prosperous community, bound together by Christian charity, and enjoying all the natural advantages of a fruitful soil, a genial climate, and a connexion with the greatest commercial empire in the world, are separated from each other by revived distinctions and animosities.

"Their country, in time of peace, is crowded with troops; their trade is languid, their industry checked; the employment of capital prevented or disturbed; and all the means which contribute to the advancement of a country

are lost, neutralized, or put in abeyance; discontent, poverty, insecurity, and alarm, are met with on every side, rendering peace doubtful, and prosperity impossible."

Is not, then, the inconsistency rather with those who have never yet brought peace and justice to Ireland, than with those who are still obliged to seek it?

April 27.



THE END.

THE DUBLIN REVIEW.

WHEN first the project was formed and carried into execution, of publishing a Quarterly Journal, conducted upon Catholic principles, it was treated by many as a rash undertaking; and even those who most cordially wished it success, scarcely dared to hope that its existence would be prolonged beyond a few years. The fate of every other Catholic literary periodical was confidently foretold to it. Those who undertook the work, however, judged more hopefully. They had a stronger faith in the resources of our body, in its learning, that is, its increasing literature, its growing importance, its expanding knowledge of its own interests, and its rising position in the social scale; and they trusted that an organ which should fitly represent its feelings, its principles, and its legitimate aims, could not fail to be adequately encouraged. Still it was an experiment requiring some resolution; and, with one distinguished exception, they who made it could then advance little claim to the confidence of the Catholic public, beyond their upright motives and zealous intentions.

But now that the DUBLIN REVIEW has passed its thirtieth number, and has reached the eighth year of its existence, its Conductors feel that they may more justly and more confidently appeal to their Catholic brethren, for encouragement and support. The object of their appeal, however, is to solicit, not pecuniary assistance, but kind exertions to increase the circulation of the work, from such as already subscribe to it, and subscription from such as till now have foreborne to procure it. The clergy, in particular, have it much in their power to advance its prosperity,—by recommending it among their flocks, by giving it a place in their lending libraries, and by inducing several persons to unite in one subscription.

It will not be out of place to enumerate some of the grounds on which the REVIEW lays claim to the general interest of Catholics in Great Britain and Ireland, and may seem not unworthy of their support:—

1. It pleased Divine Providence that the REVIEW should first appear at a time when most important controversies were springing up in the English Church, controversies of which the seed was then only cast, the germ had hardly appeared, but which were by degrees to grow up, expand, and form most interesting features in the religious history of our age. The REVIEW was early instrumental in turning the attention of Catholics to this great movement; it has kept it steadily in sight through every change; has pointed out the advantages to be derived from its progress; and perhaps alone has discussed its new questions, and proposed arguments to meet its fallacies. It may not be presumptuous to say, that without such a channel, much interesting religious information would not have easily reached the great body of Catholics.

2. Nor has the REVIEW been wanting in attention to other great topics of the day, connected with the progress of Catholicity. The revival of

Christian art, and the excitement of its kindred feelings, have not been merely recorded, but promoted and illustrated in its pages.

3. Many important questions, too, relative specifically to Ireland, have been treated in it, by writers intimately acquainted with her wants and her sufferings.

4. The principal religious discussions of other countries have likewise been attended to ; while literary and scientific subjects have been handled as fully as in the ordinary reviews.

Such are some of the principal claims which the Conductors of the DUBLIN REVIEW think themselves justified in respectfully advancing to the support of their Catholic brethren. They might add, that its pages have been useful in removing prejudice from the minds of persons separated from them in religion ; and that in this respect it has had the advantage (from its quarterly form) of being admitted among a class of readers not usually favourable to Catholic literature.

It would be unbecoming, and it is unnecessary, to urge upon their Catholic friends claims of another character, or relative to the manner in which the REVIEW has been supported till now. That for a time most generous assistance was afforded it by several of the Catholic nobility and gentry, is sufficiently known. But, since the period originally fixed for its continuance expired, the Conductors of the REVIEW have continued it at their own risk ; nor could they have done so but for the truly Catholic spirit in which its contributors have acted, putting aside all idea of profit, and seeking no reward for their zealous cooperation, beyond the satisfaction of aiding in the holy cause of their religion. Among the Irish clergy in particular, this noble disinterestedness has been manifested ; and to it many of the most valuable articles of the REVIEW are owing. It is the duty of making this acknowledgment, and of so performing an act of justice, and not the desire of giving value to their own personal sacrifices, that suggests to the Conductors of the REVIEW the introduction of this topic. They have continued their labours, as they hope, through higher and better motives than the applause of men or the recompenses of earth ; and they will not be deterred from continuing them by partial disapprobation or by personal inconvenience.

But they feel it due to Catholic interests, to call now upon every member of the true Church, and upon its clergy in particular, to cooperate with them, in the spirit of kindness which religious charity must inspire, as brethren, firmly, because lovingly, combined in a common, and most sacred, cause. They entreat them generally, and individually, to consider this publication as the common property of the entire body, not as a private speculation ; and to exert themselves, in this view, to secure its continuance and extend its usefulness, by greater efforts to uphold it and increase its circulation. Mr. O'CONNELL, even while engaged in the harassing duty of attending to the late important trial, was good enough to address a circular to all the Irish Clergy, strongly recommending the REVIEW to their notice and patronage, and of which we subjoin a copy. For this—but one of many proofs of his warm interest in the publication—its Conductors feel that they owe him sincere gratitude, which they are glad of this opportunity openly and cordially to express ; the more so as his example has suggested to them the propriety of similarly appealing to the Catholic Clergy and Laity of Great Britain.

In concluding this their address, they respectfully beg that it may not be construed into an intimation of any insecurity in the *REVIEW*, which they believe never had better prospects than at present. These, in fact, have encouraged them to come forward thus boldly, and solicit the kind support of their brethren.

(Circular)

COURT OF QUEEN'S BENCH, DUBLIN, *January, 1844.*

SIR,

Notwithstanding the pressure of other matters on my attention, I feel so anxiously the importance of the subject on which I now address you, that I give it a preference to every thing else—I refer to the “*DUBLIN REVIEW*.”—I verily believe that publication to be of the utmost value to the cause of Catholicity and genuine liberty. It is the only *quarterly* periodical that vindicates the character of the Irish and the interests of their religion.

It is, especially, the only such publication that has full access to the various fashionable clubs, as well as to the public reading rooms.—It also circulates extensively amongst the Clergy, and in the Colleges of the Established Church in England—and it is of incalculable value to preserve an organ of religious and liberal sentiment, whose voice is heard in places, and by persons, whose attention has hitherto been closely confined to the misrepresentations and calumnies of the enemies of the Catholic Religion and of the Irish Nation.

It is of the utmost importance that we should have our case fairly stated—All we desire is, to be known as we really and in truth are—All we desire is, that our tenets should be freed from misrepresentation, and our religious practices should be rescued from false glosses and calumnious imputations.

It is impossible to place all these vital interests in better hands than in the “*DUBLIN REVIEW*.” We owe to ourselves and to our religion, to sustain that journal—we owe it in Christian Charity to our Protestant fellow-countrymen, to clear away the mist so foully raised around our faith, and to shew forth to them our holy religion, our apostolic faith, in its genuine brightness and simple truth.

Impressed with these sentiments, I take the liberty of recommending to you the present, and every future, number of the “*DUBLIN REVIEW*.”

I have the honor to be, respectfully,

Your very faithful Servant,



Orders for the “*DUBLIN REVIEW*” are received by the Publisher, C. DOLMAN, 61, New Bond Street, London; BOOKER & Co. Liverpool; J. CUMMING, Dublin; W. TAIT, Edinburgh; and by all respectable Booksellers.

CONTENTS OF NUMBERS I TO XXX.

No. I.

Economy of the Earth
Earl Mulgrave in Ireland
The Irish and English Universities
Ecclesiastical Music
Raumer's England in 1835
Maria Monk's Black Nunnery
The Edom of the Prophecies
Gerbet on the Eucharist
The Rail Road System in Ireland
The Oxford Controversy
Declaration of the British Catholic Bishops

No. II.

State and Prospects of Ireland
Six Months in a Convent
Wraxall's Memoirs
Versions of the Scripture
Recent Poetry
The Philosophy of Art
Religion in Italy
Pacata Hibernia
The Protestant Association.

No. III.

Education in England
 The Fourth of October
 A Poor Law for Ireland
 Medical Statistics [Literature of Genius
 Literature of the Aristocracy, and the
 Maynooth College
 Persecution of Catholics in Prussia [ature
 Chateaubriand's Sketches of English Lite-
 Irish Absenteeism
 Fishes and Fishery
 The Dublin Society
 Life and Writings of Mrs. Hemans.

No. IV.

Life and Genius of John Hunter
 Dr. Wiseman's Lectures on Science and
 Revealed Religion [Conservative
 The No-Popery Current, Liberal and
 Theory of Probabilities
 Recent Opinions upon America
 Modern English Drama
 Ireland and her Calumniators
 Life and Writings of Sir Humphrey Davy
 Catholic Versions of Scripture [Church
 Present State and Prospects of the Anglican
 Turkey and its Foreign Diplomacy
 Anster's and Elliott's Poems
 The Catholic Oath
 Declaration of the Irish and Catholic Bishops
 Review of French Catholic Literature.

No. V.

De Jorio on Italian Gesticulation
 Ireland—Past, Present, and Future [rity
 High Church Theory of Dogmatical Autho-
 The Canadian Question
 Montemont's London
 The Fisheries of Ireland [on the Holy See
 Early Italian Scientific Academies—Attacks
 Christian Political Economy
 The Danube and Black Sea
 Theory of Probabilities—Part 2nd
 Catholic, Italian, and German Literature
 Notices of New Books.

No. VI.

Life and Writings of Novalis
 Ozanam's English Chancellors
 Pugin on Modern and Ancient Ecclesiastical
 The Vaudois [Architecture
 Montalembert's St. Elizabeth
 English Tourists in Ireland
 The Bible and the Reformation
 The Irish in America
 Perceval's Peace Offering and Roman Schism
 Occasional Fallacious Evidence of the Senses
 Review of French and Catholic Literature.

No. VII.

Pozzo di Borgo
 The Religious System of the Ancients, Fate
 Principles of Colonization—New Zealand
 Christian Antiquities
 Breton, Norman, and Anglo-Norman Poetry
 Saint Simonism
 The French in Africa
 Mesmerism,—or Animal Magnetism
 The Archbishop of Cologne [Ireland.
 Lord Mulgrave and the Protestants of

No. VIII.

Trinity College, Dublin
 Tracts for the Times
 Records of Olden Outlaws
 Catholic Missions—Tahiti
 Miseries and Beauties of Ireland
 Pedro of Castile
 Mehemet Ali
 Meyler on Irish Tranquility
 The Bishop of Exeter and the Catholic Oath
 Irish Novels
 French and Italian Literature
 Miscellaneous Intelligence

No. IX.

The Roman Forum
 Ranke's History of the Popes
 Prejudices of Early Education
 Galileo—The Roman Inquisition
 Irish Election Committees
 Wallenstein
 Peru, before and at the Spanish Invasion
 The Plays of Talfourd and Knowles
 Authority of the Holy See in South America

No. X.

Anglican Claim of Apostolic Succession
 France—Equality and Centralization
 Shakespeare's Autobiographical Poems
 Carlyle's Works—French Revolution
 Memoirs of Scott [Mesmerism
 The Visible and the Invisible—Note on
 Orators in the Reformed Parliament
 Belgium and Holland
 Retribution due to Ireland
 Religious Novels—Geraldine, &c.

No. XI.

Italian Guides and Tourists
 The Life and Writings of Görres. Founda-
 tion Schools in Ireland
 Charitable Institutions of Rome
 Orators in the Reformed Parliament
 Ecclesiastical Seminaries
 The Railway System in Ireland
 Statistics of Crime in England and Ireland
 German Catholic Literature.

No. XII.

Sylvester II. and Gregory VII.
The Slavonians
Trade with France
Dodd's Church History of England
Froude's Remains
King John a Protestant Reformer
South Australia
Lynch's Measures for Ireland
Geraldine—Religious Institutions
Cooper's Novels
Italian Music
French and Italian Literature
Miscellaneous Intelligence.

No. XIII.

Library of the Fathers—St. Cyril
The Judicature of the Commons on Contro-
Roman History [verted Elections
Döllinger on the Mohammedan Religion
The Normans in Sicily
Tracts for the Times—Anglican Claim of
Apostolical Succession
Waterton and Natural History
Wiseman and Turton
Modern English Novels
Church Architecture of the Middle Ages
German Catholic Literature.

No. XIV.

Dr. Höninghaus' Protestant Evidences of
Medical Notices [Catholicity
Faith and Literature of the Armenians
Henry of Monmouth
Transatlantic Travelling
Library of the Fathers:—Confessions of
St. Augustine
Statistics of Population
Poems by George Croker Fox
Modern English Novels
The Liberty of the Press
Foreign Catholic Literature.

No. XV.

Arbitrary Power—Popery—Protestantism
Prejudices of our Popular Literature
The Arabian Nights' Entertainments
Halsted's Life of Margaret Beaufort, Mother
of Henry the Seventh
German Translation of the Pickwick Papers
Gibbon; or, the Infidel Historian and his
Lamartine's Poetry [Protestant Editors
State and Prospects of Catholicity in England
Rise and Fall of Chartistism.

No. XVI.

Mores Catholici; or, Ages of Faith
Waterton's Autobiography
Did the Anglican Church Reform herself?
Civil and Religious Education in Belgium
Fraser's Travels in Koordistan and Meso-
potamia
Temperance Movement in Ireland [Review
Hon. and Rev. A. P. Percival and the Dublin
Persecution in the East; the Pope's Allo-
cation
Miscellaneous Foreign Catholic Literature.

No. XVII.

Standenmaier's Spirit of Christianity
Recent No-Popery Novels
Necessity of Legislation for Life Assurance
Hungary and Transylvania
Affairs of Cologne—Hermesian Doctrines
Jean Paul F. Richter
New Zealand
The Stage
Parties in Church and State.

No. XVIII.

Economy of the Atmosphere
Shakspeare
The Brothers of the Christian Schools
Modern French Romance
Arbitrary Power—Popery—Protestantism
The Circassians
The Faust—its Sacred Poetry
Foreign Affairs
Christian Inscription found at Antun
French and German Literature

No. XIX.

Arbitrary Power—Popery—Protestantism
Artaud's Life of Pius VII.
Hallam's Literature of Europe
The Horse Guards [Ireland,"
The Quarterly Review on "Romanism in
The Wants of Ireland
Scotland and the Scotch
Recent Poetry.

No. XX.

Containing above Twenty Plates.

Von Wrangel's Navigable Polar Sea
The Present State of Ecclesiastical Archi-
tecture, with numerous Illustrations, by
A. WELBY PUGIN
Mental Epidemics
Sporting in Ireland
Protestant Evidence of Catholicity--Leibnitz
Thomas Moore
Hallam's History of Literature
Agriculture in Ireland
Lives of the Queens of England
"The Quarterly" on Romanism in Ireland
Notices of Catholic Publications, &c.

No. XXI.

Southern Africa in 1840 [Germany
Moral and Intellectual Condition of Catholic
Jones on the Value of Annities, &c.
Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge
German Prose Writers
The Ancient Church of England, and the
Liturgy of the Anglican Church
The Quarterly Review on "Romanism in
Ireland."
Milnes' Poems
The Catholic and Anglican Churches
National English Aids
Notices of Books.

No. XXII.

The Successive Discoveries of America
 The "Unity" and "Catholicity" of the
 "English Protestant Established Church"
 The Elements of Euclid [Fisheries
 Illegality of Crown Grants of Public
 Cardinal Mai's Historical Palimpsest
 Van Dieman's Land under the Prison System
 Schiller
 Pope Boniface VIII
 Annals of the Propagation of the Faith
 Miscellaneous Reviews.

No. XXIII.

Apostolics and the Eighteenth Century
 The Literature of Art
 The Present State of Ecclesiastical Archi-
 tecture in England, illustrated with
 Seventeen Plates by A. WELBY PUGIN
 Stephens' Ancient Cities of Central America
 The Anglican System
 Peel's Government.

No. XXIV.

Miss Cox's Hymns from the German
 Lingard's History of England
 Armenian Convent of San Lazzaro, Venice
 Afghanistan
 St. Etienne-du-Mont, Paris
 Switzerland,—Convents of Argau.
 Weights, Measures, and Coinage
 Frederic the Great and his Times
 Lives of the Queens of England
 Protestantism of the Anglican Church

No. XXV.

Algeria
 Literature of Art
 Progress of Australian Discovery
 Life of Flood [Tax"
 "Why is Ireland exempted from the Income
 The Spanish Theatre
 Ecclesiastical Organization
 Miscellaneous Notices of New Books.

No. XXVI.

Palmer's Letters to Wiseman: on Satis-
 Spain and her Resources [faction
 Chemistry
 Faber's Foreign Churches
 Science and Rank
 Prayer and Prayer Books
 The Sepulchres of Etruria
 Depopulation: Fixity of Tenure.

No. XXVII.

Recent Charges
 The Kirk of Scotland
 Charitable Institutions of Italy—Genoa
 Arundines Cami
 Education of the Working Classes
 The Irish Church—Palmer
 The Catholic Church in Russia
 Superficial Travelling: Dickens—Trollope.

No. XXVIII.

Laing's Travels
 Is Ranke an Historian?
 The Reformation and its Consequences
 Cardinal Mai's Spicilegium Romanum
 The Persecution of Slander—Edinburgh
 Review; Borrow's Bible in Spain
 National Holydays
 Recollections of the Life of Herder
 Russia in 1842.

No. XXIX.

Etruria-Celtica
 Charitable Institutions of Italy—Naples
 English Agriculture—Practice with Science
 Anglo-Saxon Literature
 The Religious Movement
 Rome under Paganism, and under the Popes
 Ireland and her Grievances
 Cardinal Pacca's Memoirs
 Carlyle's "Past and Present"
 Grattan
 Minor Rites and Offices.

No. XXX.

Archbishop Whately's Petition
 The Scottish Schism
 The Grievances of Ireland
 The Ursuline and Presentation Orders—
 Miss Nano Nagle
 Life of Gerald Griffin
 Mason's Life of Bishop Bedell
 History of St. Andrews
 O'Connell and Brougham: Irish Agitation
 and French Revolution
 Ancient and Modern Catholicity
 Dickens's Christmas Carol
 New Novels
 Newman's Sermons

"The only Quarterly Periodical that vindicates the Character of the Irish
 and the Interests of their Religion."

WORKS PUBLISHED BY CHARLES DOLMAN,

61, NEW BOND STREET.

HIERURGIA; OR THE HOLY SACRIFICE OF THE MASS:

With Notes and Dissertations, elucidating its Doctrines and Ceremonies.
By DANIEL ROCK, D.D. In 2 vols. 8vo. with above Forty Plates, price
£1. 8s. cloth lettered.

In the second part are treated at length: TRANSUBSTANTIATION, RELICS,
INVOCATION OF SAINTS AND ANGELS, PURGATORY, the USE OF HOLY WATER,
LIGHTS, and INCENSE, the DYPYCHS, &c. with Appendices containing
"Extracts from Ancient Liturgies," &c.



BODY OF ST. CECILIA, AS DISCOVERED UNDER THE HIGH ALTAR OF HER CHURCH IN 1599.

A few copies with the plates on India paper, £1. 14s. cloth lettered.

"The Notes on the Rubrics will be found very interesting to the general reader, Catholic as well as Protestant, not merely on account of the lucid explanation which they afford of the different parts of the liturgy and its ceremonies, but also on account of the numerous scriptural and other references with which the notes are enriched."—EDINB. CATH. MAG.

Just published, 2 vols. 8vo. price 18s. Boards,

SYMBOLISM:

OR, EXPOSITION OF THE DOCTRINAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS, as evidenced by their Symbolical Writings. By JOHN ADAM MOEHLER, D.D. Dean of Wurzburg, and late Professor of Theology at the University of Munich. Translated from the German, with a Memoir of the Author, preceded by an Historical Sketch of the State of protestantism and Catholicism in Germany for the last hundred years, by JAMES BURTON ROBERTSON, Esq. translator of Schlegel's "Philosophy of History."

"MOEHLER'S SYMBOLISM," is indisputably the most powerful defence of Catholicism that has appeared in modern times, and, as such, is deserving of the most serious attention. It also tends, at the same time, towards a mutual reconciliation of the two parties, by exposing unreservedly, though dispassionately, their differences on points of faith; the arguments being reduced, as it were, almost to a simple comparison of the authentic documents, or symbols, of the different confessions. This celebrated work has already passed through Five Editions in Germany.

TIERNEY'S DODD.

Lately published, price 12s., Volume the FIFTH, of

THE CHURCH HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

From the Year 1500 to 1688, chiefly with regard to Catholics, by CHARLES DODD; with NOTES, and a Continuation to the beginning of the present Century, by the Rev. M. A. TIERNEY, F.R.S., F.S.A.



This volume, which is original, and principally supplementary to the reign of James the First, embraces the history of the two Archpriests, Birkhead and Harrison, the negotiations which led to the appointment of the Bishop of Chalcedon, and the struggles and remonstrances by which the independence of Douay College was finally established.

To be completed in 14 Vols.

Fifty Copies printed on Large Paper in roy. 8vo. 21s. each vol. cloth.

N.B. Subscribers' Names may be transmitted to the Publisher through any Bookseller in the Country.

Just published, price 1s. 6d.

A LETTER TO THE VERY REV. G. CHANDLER,
D.C.L. Dean of Chichester, and Rector of All Souls, Langham Place, &c.
&c., containing some remarks on his Sermon, preached in the Cathedral Church of Chichester, on Sunday, October 15, 1843, "on the occasion of publicly receiving into the Church a convert from the Church of Rome."
By the Rev. M. A. TIERNEY, F.R.S., F.S.A.

Lately completed in Thirteen Volumes, small 8vo. price Five Shillings each,
the Fourth Edition of

A HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM THE FIRST INVASION OF THE ROMANS.

BY JOHN LINGARD, D.D.

* * This beautiful cabinet Edition of this valuable and important Work is printed uniform in size with the Works of SCOTT, BYRON, MOORE, WORDSWORTH, EDGEWORTH, SOUTHEY, and others; and is enriched with a fine Portrait of the Author from a painting by Lover, and by Thirteen beautiful Plates engraved on Steel by GOODALL, from the designs made expressly for this edition by HARVEY, into all of which actual scenery has been introduced.

The public are respectfully informed that this Edition has received a most searching and extensive revision by the learned Author, who has inserted additional matter in the text as well as the notes, fully equal to the extent of an additional volume.

C. DOLMAN having recently purchased the entire property of this important Work, begs leave to state that he can supply the Public with complete sets, or any single volumes to complete up Subscribers' copies, but for which early application should be made.

Ref 2018272



